



SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY

HIS EXCELLENCY

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RAJAGOPALACHARYA

GOVERNOR OF WEST BENGAL

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His Excellency's Speech in the West Bengal Assembly, on the 15th August, 1947.

British Imperial power has been withdrawn from India. The people of India have been given the untrammelled right to shape their own destiny from today forward. Let us on this occasion pay silent homage to all those who worked for this end all through the long years of aspiration, agitation and struggle and who are not with us in flesh and blood to see the fruition of their labour and their suffering.

Our joy would have been complete if partition had not come as a necessary accompaniment of freedom. Let us hope that the causes that rendered this unfortunate accompaniment of the status of independence and self-rule necessary will ere long melt away and that the two free States will come together once again into wise and lasting union.

When the new constitution of India that is being discussed in the Constituent Assembly is brought into force, you will have as the Governor of your Province a man elected by the people themselves. Until then Government will be carried on under the Government of India Act, but with the important modification that there will be no matters in which a Governor will act other than on the advice of Ministers responsible to the Legislature.

You as members of the Assembly will henceforth have the unrestricted right and duty of shaping the

dolices of the Government. The Prime Minister and his colleagues, so long as they retain your confidence, will bear the full burden and responsibility of the Government of the Province, although I shall always be willing to place my experience and views at the disposal of the Government and help them in every way as a constitutional Governor. I have been appointed and I have agreed to serve the people of Bengal in the spirit that is justified in the Gita although it could be considered foolhardiness on my part. Whatever duty happens to be imposed on one, be it pleasant or unpleasant, has to be accepted and performed to the best of one's ability. With your help and goodwill I hope to be of some use to you.

Our fight against imperialism and foreign domination is over, but in the work of construction we have an uphill task of very great magnitude. We have to contend against widespread corruption and insane fratricidal violence. Independence by itself is nothing but an opportunity. It is no doubt a great opportunity if all of us develop a full sense of responsibility and decide to work hard. The rest of the world watches our efforts with great expectation, for it has a high opinion of India, her culture, her resources and the character and greatness of her people. Nothing is perfect in this world and the order of things set up immediately on the withdrawal of British power cannot by any means be perfect straightaway.

There are many difficulties which have to be and can be peacefully removed or remedied.

Recourse to violence or to the forms of obstruction, non-co-operation or direct action to which recourse was justified on the ground of sheer necessity when we were struggling against foreign rule, are out of place when popular leaders are in charge of all affairs including the framing and the amending of the constitution itself.

The majority community has now added responsibility in safeguarding all the legitimate interests of the minorities and creating and maintaining amongst them a sense of complete security and confidence. Recent happenings in the country have no doubt embittered feelings to a degree never before witnessed, but bitterness and blind and unjust violence can help nobody to achieve anything. Even if we get some temporary satisfaction of brute passion, we and generations to come will have to pay for it all most heavily and with compound interest. The wise and good men of all nations have after trial and experience come to the same conclusion over and over again, namely, that we must forget and forgive and that the way of violence should be given up if the world is to progress and be happy. Efficient honest administration without lapsing into partisan plans must be our immediate objective but even before that, if I may say so, law and order must be restored and stabilised at all cost.

May I pray with you that we may enable Bengal once again to take first place in free India in all respects. To that end may our energies be directed. If I play a humble part in this work I shall have great cause in the evening of my life to be proud.

His Excellency's Speech at the Public Meeting at the Maidan, on the 17th August, 1947.

I am glad to have this opportunity of addressing you this morning. I wish I could speak to you in Bengali but as I cannot do so I shall have to request the Hon'ble Chief Minister to address you in your own language.

I am happy to be here and I very deeply appreciate the affection and goodwill I have met with from all quarters ever since I arrived here and the confidence that the leaders of the people have in my ability to serve you as a Governor should. You have Mahatma Gandhi in your midst and he has spoken in his own inimitable way words of wisdom which you should all follow. I have come to serve this Province and I do hope that your Ministry will get your unstinted co-operation and support in the difficult task of upliftment of this Province. We have won our freedom and it should be our duty to see that our energies are not frittered away in petty differences or rivalries. We should all direct our energies to constructive work and make our Province a happy and prosperous spot on earth.

When I came here I was full of anxiety as to how Calcutta will behave on the great day of independence, August 15th. I saw a miracle and God has brought his children together in a manner I had not the courage to hope for—I offer my prayerful thanks to God. We can suffer anything if we are supported by mutual love and if mutual violence and hatred disappear. May God continue to look kindly on us and may we deserve his grace.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Weekly Luncheon
Meeting of the Calcutta Rotary Club on the
• 19th August, 1947.**

You are a great people. You have committed great mistakes but you have also achieved great deeds. You know how to do things in a grand way. No other people in India could have done what you have done. They could not have come together with the warmth and greatness of heart you have displayed.

To the Punjab, I would say : "Look at Bengal and copy it." Bengal has laid down the most glorious examples for the other parts of India to follow and I congratulate you.

I think Lord Mountbatten is a very lucky man in this world, and he knows it. He feels proud, and legitimately too, that he has given freedom without bloodshed; he has divided the country because it was necessary to do so. It is the most wonderful thing of our time. Other people may have seen the battle of Panipat, or the Waterloo, but nobody has seen a country of four hundred million people being made free and divided without any bloodshed, without corpses lying on the battle field or without a mighty civil war. I do not think our children will see such a great miracle.

But let me tell you I have seen a greater miracle, a grander miracle even than that. When I came here in Calcutta I came with fear in my

mind as to what I would see in Calcutta. And I witnessed scenes on the 15th which moved my heart as if I were a child; I saw women and children mixing, Hindus and Muslims mixing, roaring, laughing, crowding in the same lorry with flags and festoons and shouting "Ek Ho". If I were not the Governor of this province I should have jumped up on such a lorry or sat down on the street and shouted the slogans with them. It is a miracle grander and more magnificent than what Lord Mountbatten has achieved.

Nobody organised it. People have done it spontaneously. It takes a long time to organise massacre and murder. But good things happen in this world without any trouble, without any organisation. Men and women are born naturally good. The shortest distance between two points, the mathematicians say, is a straight line. The swiftest approach between two men is love and affection. The people of Bengal have realised it.

Of course, the magician was here on the spot, Gandhiji has come. Gandhiji has achieved many things in his life time. But I do not think he has achieved so grand, so magnificent a thing as he has achieved in Calcutta. I feel, my friends, I have seen enough. If to-morrow I am to resign the Governorship and go away I will have something to remember to the end of my life. If I had not been here and if I were to read about it in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" or other newspapers I would not have believed it. I would have thought

that newspapermen have written it to glorify the Ministry or the Governor. But I believe it because I have seen it with my own eyes.

. Friends, let us preserve it. Let us preserve this friendship. When I saw Gandhiji the other day I told him how great was his miracle and I told him how it went on. Gandhiji was full of anxiety and like a greedy man he was not happy with what he has done. He was not thinking of what he has achieved. He was anxious that it should continue. Nothing should happen to break it. That was his anxiety. You want to serve the people. You are to maintain the atmosphere in Calcutta. Id celebration every year was a bogey to every Government officer. But the Id celebrated on the previous day was a day of joy. There was no anxiety, no trouble. Everything was joyous, everybody was embracing and singing. Let us thank God that we have achieved and seen such a thing in our life time.

I have tried to analyse the cause of this miracle. My own analysis is that Hindus and Muslims are the same people. They have the same virtues; the same faults. They have the same greatness of heart. They have one great fault, the fault of being great in virtues and vices. It was that greatness which brought them together. Preserve that greatness of heart, and all will be well. Do not be small-minded; do not be petty-minded. Do not forget that the greatest virtue is the capacity to forget. The greatest point of good health is the

capacity to go to sleep when you like. Memory is a good thing. But you must also be able to forget anything you would like to forget.

Be great as you have been. Do not look behind. Look forward. Many things have happened in this world. Thousands of crimes have been committed in this world, could you suggest, that we had been always good to each other? In this country, our history, written or unwritten, has shown plenty of carnage, massacre. But let us look forward and be good to one another. Many things happened in Calcutta last year. We have closed that chapter. As Bengal had shown 40 years ago how to start the struggle for freedom, Bengal has shown today how to maintain that freedom again. In order to effectively impress that lesson on us, Bengal has taken upon herself all the pain of partition, to show that we can come together in spite of hatred and mistrust and differences among our own people. Bengal has shown how bad the patient can be and also how completely the cure can be.

This national flag I have unfurled today signifies change in the meaning of everything around us. The police need no longer be regarded as our enemy, Every policeman, should realise and you must make him understand it, that he is to serve patriotically the needs of the people of this country. It is somewhat difficult to realise straight-away, especially for men who have been previously beaten and pushed, the friendliness of the police constable. But that is what this flag stands for.

This flag, is not merely a piece of cloth with pretty colours. It is a revolutionary implement. It must convert people anew. It must convert a barber into a new barber, a carpenter into a new carpenter, a reporter into a better reporter, a newspaper editor into a better newspaper editor trying to turn the newspaper into an educative instrument of the society.

It is not an accident that the *Chakra* (wheel) appears in our flag. It is a wheel which symbolises what we should do hereafter. It is a wheel which symbolises that we should actively do something for the people. It is a symbol of continual churning in order to produce something. Gandhiji did not incorporate *Chakra* in the flag to advertise the utility of *Chakra*. That is to represent the continual patriotic industrious habit which he wants you to cultivate. He wants to bring that habit into existence in our country.

What is the greatest evil of our life ? It is laziness and nothing else. Laziness is sometimes called leisure. Whatever you may call it is nothing but laziness. What Gandhiji wants is that we must throw away that laziness. It may be due to climate, due to religion, but whatever it may be due to, it is bad. We should no longer be lazy. The wheel in our flag will remind us that we should always churn; we should be always doing something; we should be rolling and turning and producing something. That is the wheel, the wheel of life. Work is the wheel of life and nothing else.

The shaper of this flag was inspired by the examples of the greatest man of the world, Asoka. Asoka's wheel had a history, a tradition. That wheel was associated with the law, justice, uprightness of conduct and the inner urge which made a man free from all external control so as to be able to render service with detachment.

We are a very fortunate people. We in this land are in possession of opportunities which no other people in the world can claim to have. We are not a small people. We are not a single people. We are mixed; we are large. We have many religions, many colours, many habits and many traditions. We have learnt how to turn this wheel of life for the good of all the people. You will see by and by the difficulties confronting us and how to overcome those difficulties.

Our destiny is great and that is why we are made free without any trouble. Has there ever been an example of a whole people of 400 millions being made free without any war, without any corpses lying on the battle ground? We had to struggle and we made sacrifices. But that is a different story. Look at Japan. Think of the last Great War. Just keep that picture before you and you will realise you have won your freedom without any bloodshed. Look at other events. The partition of the country has taken place without any bloodshed. Has any country ever been partitioned without a mighty civil war? But India has been divided as if it were a litigation before Mr. Justice Biswas. We have troubles, but do not exaggerate them. We have won freedom at a very small price. Let us thank God. Let us move forward.

His Excellency's Speech at the Gandhi Jayanti Celebrations organised by the Central Peace Committee at the Maidan, on the 2nd October, 1947.

We are meeting this morning in worship of the pillar of peace. The living soul of Mahatma Gandhi is truly our pillar of peace. God sent him to us seventy-nine years ago to become our pillar, our only sheet anchor, our true rudder. When we asked for freedom, God knew we asked for something difficult. Freedom is easy to ask but difficult to carry. When we asked for freedom and we got it, we agreed to bear a great burden. Other people in the world told us that we were too many sorts of people and that we would not be able to bear the burden of Independence. We answered them saying that we would be able, even though we were many sorts of people. We then thought we had the spiritual strength to carry out our resolve. We asked the British to quit India and the British said that if they did quit, we should be warring among ourselves. Mahatma Gandhi replied that if they quitted we could keep the peace and maintain our freedom, but we are now sorely tried. It is hard to keep the promise we made but we have somehow to keep our promise by keeping the peace. We must do it for the sake of the coming generation of men, women and children. Aye, for the sake of

Satya, for the sake of good, we must keep our promise. Otherwise our disgrace would be great and no words would be adequate enough to describe the shame. The world outside has so far observed great restraint in commenting upon our disgrace. I wish the world outside had pointed out to us our disgrace so that our spirit might have been quickened. When the American people and the British hurl words of shame at us, we should answer them not by words but by deeds. We have all read Pandit Nehru's speech the other day. I read that speech also, not the words but the grief behind them. It is our bounden duty to save Pandit Nehru from the grief that he has to bear. The way to save him from the grief is not to point the finger of blame at others but to turn it at yourself every time. The fathers of all religions have told us that there is only one way to save the world and it is this—"do not try to find fault with others. Be good yourself, then the world will be all right." We will not be better by teaching others but by being good ourselves.

The joy that we knew on the 15th of August in New Delhi is no longer there. New Delhi has been through fire and is now in ruins. Imagine the Taj in ruins. New Delhi in ruins is a far greater calamity than the Taj in ruins. Let us all with one heart pray that Mahatmaji may be able to reconstruct the Tajmahal of joy in Delhi. He has gone there with renewed firmness of purpose to rebuild peace. Let us all unitedly pray for his success.

In the old days thousands used to say "yes" to Mahatmaji's words but the affirmation came, not

from the heart but from a feeling of hero worship and from a desire to be great but today it comes from the heart. It comes from the deepest and innermost recesses of the hearts of our people who have suffered much and greatly. When in the old days they said "yes," they said to Gandhiji "you are our saviour," they said so without understanding the meaning of what they were saying but today the picture is very different. When they now addressed Mahatmaji as their saviour they did so with a full and complete realisation of the full meaning of what they said. Grief has purified our hearts and let us hope our hearts purified by grief will remain pure. Our country and our Government have been divided and people think that we can go to war with one another. I tell you one great truth — and I have said many truths in my life. No war is possible between India and Pakistan. The Government of India has been divided but India has not been and cannot be divided. India can go to war with Pakistan or Pakistan can go to war with India only if a man can go to war with his own stomach. War is not a word that can be blazoned out on the head lines. War is a process of many things which cannot happen either in India or in Pakistan. War between the two countries is a physical impossibility but civil strife is possible, which is in fact going on. There cannot be any war between India and Pakistan but there can be civil disorders both in India and Pakistan. Civil war is no preparation for war. In fact it makes war impossible because war requires organisation of the warring nations' resources while Civil war disturbs

and disorganises all resources. Only the superficial can talk of war between India and Pakistan. Give up the solution of war please and let us all deal with the problem of civil strife. Civil war can be avoided if we are just and always vigilant about justice, about human feelings. We have now democracies both in Pakistan and India. Democracy means the majority's rule but it also presupposes the responsibility of the majority to inspire complete confidence and security in the minority. It is not coalitions nor mathematical arrangements of electoral seats but it is the conscience of the majority that can give peace and security to the minority. The British have quitted but our consciences have still to be quickened and it is only Mahatmaji who can quicken our conscience so as to instil confidence in the minorities in both Pakistan and India; and unless democracies' consciences are so quickened, we cannot be happy.

The last movement Mahatmaji led was to ask the British to quit. The movement he now launches is to ask Retaliation to quit India in order that Freedom may remain here. There is, my friends I repeat, no salvation for us unless we compel the devil of retaliation to leave India. Retaliation may take many subtle forms all of which must leave the shores of India; all must leave the shores of our conscience. It is very difficult to throw retaliation out of our hearts but we must clench our teeth and with courage and endurance pluck retaliation out of our hearts. It is difficult to forget but unless we do,

we shall not be able to save ourselves. The nourishing and the nursing of grievances is the most subtle form of retaliation and forgetting is not easy but you must forget all that has been done by our enemies. This applies both to Hindus and Muslims. We are today in the tragic state of being left unmoved by twenty thousand dead bodies while the normal human instinct is to throw our hands in horror of a crime or an act of treachery. Fools imagine that these murders are a demonstration of our strength. They are not. On the contrary, they are a proof of the fear in our hearts. Killing is the result not of courage but of detestable fear. Let us drive away retaliation and fear along with it. The fathers of our religion gave us compassion, pity and understanding. All these seem to have fled now. In the name of religion we have thrown away compassion and are killing innocent men, women and children. All grace, all compassion, all culture seem to have fled leaving only overwhelming fear of one another. In this terrible and great depression there is only one lamp burning and burning bright as ever— Mahatmaji as man and Bengal as a Province. MAY MAHATMAJI LIVE LONG AND SUCCEED IN HIS MISSION OF LOVE AND MAY BENGAL GROW FROM GOOD TO BETTER SO THAT SHE MAY SOON REACH THE FULLNESS OF HER GLORY THAT IS HER DUE ! MAY THE CELEBRATIONS OF THIS BIRTHDAY OF GANDHIJI BE THE TURNING POINT OF THE DISEASE THAT IS IN OUR MIDST AND MAY DELHI AND INDIA RECOVER HEALTH

**AND FULL GLORY ! MAY THE FEVER OF
CHANGE AND CRUELITIES REACH THE TURN-
ING POINT TODAY AND LET US ALL PROMISE
TO BE GOOD AND TO BEHAVE WELL FROM
THIS ANNIVERSARY DAY ! KEEP YOUR
HEARTS IN PERFECT ORDER. MY BEST
WISHES TO YOU BOYS AND GIRLS.**

His Excellency's Speech at the Gandhi Jayanti Celebrations organised by the Congress Sahitya Sangha, on the 2nd October, 1947.

It gave me great pleasure to visit this exhibition. I saw very good pictures drawn by living artists and explained by them. It is not often that one gets the chance of seeing a picture and also the artist who has drawn it. I learnt a good deal here this evening. To some old pictures and idols we offer worship often without understanding. You have seen Nataraja or Kali-mata dancing. We do not know what it means though the meaning must be the same in either case. It is the most beautiful conception of posture that artists ever conceived. The image of Nataraja of which the original is found in a temple in South India is known all over the world from the service of artists. To my mind the meaning of the dance is that God dances and everything happens in the world. The recent happenings in the Punjab which we have reason to bemoan, the celebration of a marriage, the loss of a dearly loved husband, the signing of peace by the big powers—all these happen when God dances in one way or another. So, therefore, if anything unfortunate happens we should not weep nor lose heart but remain courageous and think it is all God's dance.

Any one who can draw a good picture is worthy of our respect. Knowing the sacredness of his profession the true artist draws only good pictures. Pictures can do great good and also great harm. Every picture is Saraswati, and obscene pictures are a crime deserving

of capital punishment. Our minds are bad enough—we need no assistance from bad pictures to make them worse.

I am very pleased to see spinning wheels in action. Indeed we cannot celebrate any birthday of Gandhiji's without some spinning going on. I saw a martyr's widow spinning in a manner which indicated expert knowledge of the craft. In her personal bereavement which is difficult to forget, spinning must be a great consolation to her. Other people's words of wisdom neither carry conviction nor bring consolation ; it is only our own work that enables us to forget our sorrows.

Talking of spinning leads me to charka of which a part, the most important part, has gone into our national flag. The wheel represents continuous action uprightness and justice. It comes to us from the greatest law-giver of India, Asoka. And the Asoka of our time is Gandhiji. This birthday is specially important to all of us who revere Gandhiji because it marks his greatest achievement, not the achievement of freedom but the achievement of goodwill and peace and harmony among all men. Gandhiji's Calcutta achievement is now a matter of renown throughout the world. Let us hope that from tomorrow there will be no wicked action either in the Punjab or in Delhi or anywhere else in India. This hope will be fulfilled if all of you innocent men, women and children pray silently for the success of Gandhiji's mission.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Convocation
of the Calcutta University held at 35,
Ballygunge Circular Road, on the 3rd
October, 1947.**

**Fellows of University, Assembled Graduates, and
Ladies and Gentlemen :**

**The disturbance of the weather has added charm
to the proceedings. I am very pleased to see the
good humour and tolerance that you are showing
to Nature. If only we can maintain this good
humour and this spirit of tolerance and a little
capacity for suffering, we can go through a great
deal. It is a great privilege to me to be associated
with this extraordinarily beautiful function. It is a
very high honour and one that must be treasured
in memory for one's life-time. The elite of
Calcutta are here. All culture is represented here.
If at a University Convocation in a cultured city
in a cultured Province I am a little nervous, you
will forgive me. We have heard two very eloquent
and informative addresses. Please do not expect
any rhetoric from me, not only because it is not
necessary but also because I cannot do it. We
have met here for the academic purpose of awarding
degrees to those who have finished their college
careers and who are to go out as graduates ; and
of charging them at this ceremonial function
with the duties to be performed by them hereafter.
The Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh
have addressed you—two eminent educationists—and
it would be pedantry on my part to attempt to**

reinforce what they have already said. I have, however, my own duty—my own personal duty to discharge. I thank you all for the extraordinary affection that has been showered on me ever since I came to Bengal. It is an experience by itself. I am supposed to be rather a cold-blooded person. But unfortunately I know to my cost that it is not true. I wish I were cold-blooded, but I am not and, therefore, I have been moved most deeply by the affection that the people of Bengal have unreservedly shown to me. I hope I may be able to leave this Province with the feeling that I have done something in return for all the affection that has been shown to me.

Friends, we are in the midst of great trouble and the temptation is to go into that subject on every occasion. I hope, however, that I shall be able to avoid that temptation. Self-pity is not a very good thing to indulge in. Let us forget our troubles for a little while and let us remember what we have to do.

Doctor Jnan Chandra has told you that one of the most important steps which the University might take, would be to form a United Bengal Economic, Social and Cultural Organisation—an “UBESCO,” as he very felicitously called it—copying the UNESCO of the United Nations. That the University of Calcutta can fulfil this function is obvious. But do not wait till an organisation of that type comes into being. All of you, graduates, are today charged with the duty of maintaining the unity of culture in Bengal,

if not of India. It is your duty, wherever you may be, whatever work you may be at, faithfully and sincerely to carry this message and to function as missionaries of the UBESCO conceived by Dr. J. C. Ghosh. Do not yield to whispers of bellicosity, fear and suspicion, but always be courageous. Have faith ever pursuing the path of goodwill, tolerance and forbearance. We can conquer all difficulties if only we try. Whether you are doctors or lawyers or school-masters or whatever else, remember that at this convocation you are charged with the duty of carrying the message of goodwill and unity of culture and tolerance and the spirit of courage in place of the spirit of fear and suspicion. Conversation is a more effective weapon for good or evil, than any number of speeches. Weigh well, therefore, every word you speak or write so as to ensure that you are never guilty of unkindness or intolerance.

Friends, the great things that this University has done have been put before you succinctly and with eloquence by the Vice-Chancellor. You belong to a great institution of which you may well be proud. The University itself is, as you must have gathered from what the Vice-Chancellor has said, passing through a crisis as a result of loss of territory following the partition of Bengal. Its empire has contracted and it faces an economic crisis. Great and good men have no doubt endowed large sums but these have been earmarked for particular purposes and cannot, therefore, be drawn upon for the purposes of the day-to-day administration of the University.

That is why the Vice-Chancellor is anxious. I join with him in appealing for donations and endowments, not earmarked but available for general purposes in order that the Vice-Chancellor may be enabled to carry on the work of the University efficiently and with dignity. The Government of West Bengal has the same difficulties as the University, namely, contracted territory and, therefore, reduced resources and enlarged anxiety. But be patient and tolerant, and I am certain that the Government of West Bengal will in good time come to the assistance of the University and give it all the help it can.

I come now to the question of the medium of instruction. Friends, we have been told that the die was cast in favour of Bengali twenty-seven years ago. This decision, though taken 27 years ago, has not yet fully been acted upon and English still continues to be the medium of instruction in the University. The English language sits on our thoughts even as this academic robe sits upon me. This robe may be beautiful and sometimes protect you against the weather, but it is on the whole an inconvenience; just so, the English language may be beautiful but it sits heavily on our thoughts and does not let them grow, or move about freely.

Now, if the Vice-Chancellor will permit me, I should like to remind the graduates and the elite assembled here of the very fine argument that has been put forward by the Vice-Chancellor about the foundations of a University. He adjured us not to think architecturally in such matters. He was

right. Education does not rest like a brick structure on foundations below but grows like a living tree. The University gives the lead to the High Schools and the High Schools to the Primary Schools, very much like a tree ramifying from the stem upwards to the branches. That is how living things grow and yield : the University is the stem, High Schools the bigger branches with Primary Schools as their offshoots.

This leads us to the principle that applies to the medium of instruction. If you keep English as the medium of instruction in the University, it is next to impossible that students and teachers will reconcile themselves to non-English medium in teaching boys and girls in the High Schools. With English enthroned in the University, the High School teacher has necessarily to teach his pupils in English as ere long they will seek admission into the palace of the reigning queen. Hence it is that although the decision was reached twenty-seven {years ago in favour of the territorial languages, it has not been achieved as yet. It is very hard also, please remember, to change an order of things that has prevailed for long. For instance, it is not easy for members of the I.C.S. to write administrative notes in Bengali all at once. I am not, however, to be understood as pleading for the "go-slow" method of the I.C.S. I am just urging the "go-fast" method on the Universities. I want you to adopt your mother tongue as the medium of instruction in the University of this Province. And I urge every University to adopt this formula. There are, to-day about a

dozen important languages in India. Larger estimates are occasionally given mainly in order to frighten us into thinking that India is a big museum. But indeed even if India is a museum, we should retain it as a grand museum, a worthy one with all its splendour and its variety. Apart from that, the main languages we have in India are just about a dozen, viz. (1) Hindi, (2) Urdu, (3) Bengali, (4) Marathi, (5) Gujarati, (6) Kanarese, (7) Tamil, (8) Telegu, (9) Malayalam, (10) Assamese, (11) Oriya and let us add to this list English too. Each one of these dozen Indian languages is the mother tongue of not less than a crore of people—some of them of many crores. In accordance with what prevails in Europe, each one of these languages is important enough for a separate State and for a separate University. Now, therefore, each one of our great big Universities should, instead of blundering all in the same manner, recognise by agreement or by tacit consent the mother tongue of the area as the authoritative medium of University instruction. Accordingly, Benares may have Hindi, Ahmedabad may have Gujarati, Poona may have Marathi, Osmania may have Urdu and Waltair may have Telegu, Annamalai may have Tamil and Bombay and Madras may continue English, if they like. English can and should be kept as a second language because of its importance in international communication. By all means give English the importance it deserves but please do not make it the medium of all instruction.

I turn now to what Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh told you about the essential unity of culture. I endorse every word of what he said. Governments may be divided but India cannot be divided; Governments may be separated but the culture of India is indivisible and cannot be artificially divided. Let all the Universities co-operate through their respective media of instruction for one purpose, namely, to spread truth and thereby maintain the unity of culture in India. A University is not merely an organisation for calling Convocations and for the manufacture of graduates. It is really the fountain head of culture and the inspiration for all life-activities which have to be guided in a cultured and civilised manner. It was, therefore, not an accident that in the old Administration Governors were made *ex-officio* Chancellors of the various Universities in India. They knew that administration was intimately mixed up with education, and, therefore, they placed the Governor at the top of the University as Chancellor *ex-officio*.

All our present ills can be traced to imperfect methods adopted in our education. If our boys and girls are to help our country, we must change the methods of education in the University and thereby inspire changes lower down in the educational system. Till now, education in India was just a slave's accomplishment. The education that will be imparted in India from now onwards will be for a different purpose. Your education will no longer be that of a slave or a servant; it will hereafter be

directed towards equipping our boys and girls as citizens of Free India.

Our country is passing through a great ordeal and my advice to you is that wherever you go, young graduates, you must carry with you the mission of trust, goodwill and tolerance, not of communal bellicosity which is a sign of incompetence, fear and suspicion. And I have every confidence that in your own life time you will see the fruit of your work. My congratulations to you graduates and thank you all very much for listening to me patiently.

His Excellency's reply to the Civic Address presented to him by the Chairman and Commissioners of the Darjeeling Municipality, on the 19th October, 1947.

Mr. Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Commissioners of Darjeeling Municipality:

Ever since I came to Bengal I have been shown the most extraordinary affection and I have been most deeply moved by it. You have today shown that the people of the hills can outshine their fellow citizens in the plains below, in offering hospitality. Ladies and Gentlemen, I am most grateful to you for the reception you have accorded to me. I hope I shall be able to leave this Province with the feeling that I have done something in return for all the affection that has been shown to me.

Friends, you have referred to the difficulties you have to contend against in the administration of the Municipal affairs of this beautiful town. I know, too, that some of your problems need to be urgently solved. Government are not oblivious of your difficulties. But Government themselves are not having an easy time. So many problems of varying degrees of urgency and complexity are competing with one another for a speedy and just solution. If in taking up other things first, they appear in your view to have paid insufficient attention to your own special problems, pray do not imagine that your welfare and your interest are out of their minds. I assure you that that

is not the case. Plans, schemes and projects take time to come to fruition in a democratic state. In an autocratically governed state, things can be done quickly. But there is the compensation that in a slow democratically governed state, the freedom and independence of the people are not impaired whereas quicker business in an autocratically governed state is followed by tyranny. The Teesta Valley Project and Jaldhaka Hydro Electric Scheme to which you have referred are still in the examination stage. The former one may require to be modified as a result of the partition. The latter scheme which is estimated to cost two crores of rupees over a period of five years is in the exploratory stage. The Teesta Valley Scheme like many other things shows that partition only related to Government. Trade, commerce, nature and everything refuse to be divided.

You have suggested that Government should resume the annual exodus to the hills. My Government's policy is as you all know, to economise all unproductive expenditure in order that more may be available for productive schemes. All that you have stated in your address and which fall within the proper province of the ministry will, I have no doubt, receive attention. As Governor I should not attempt to deal with them.

Hundreds of communities live in this country and if each thinks it is a separate entity, distinct and separate from the rest, there will be no meaning to the independence India has secured. All people should therefore regard themselves as the flowers and fruits

of the same garden and in maintaining their own beauty, should add to the beauty and grandeur of the garden as a whole, to the benefit and advantage of all concerned. The Government of a country should, like expert gardeners, tend all plants and flowers with equal care and love, and not some plants and flowers only to the neglect of others. Every community must be given full opportunity to retain its own characteristics, but all should blend harmoniously in the bigger aspect of the nation and the country as a whole like the plants and flowers of a garden. We have been assailed by unexpected problems in recent times but luckily for us there is one man like a pillar in India guiding us along the right path. He has thrown all his weight on the side of harmony, peace and right in the crisis. He cares not for flattery from his own or other people, but he cares for Truth and Justice. All those who arrogantly criticised his line of action in the past have now realised the wisdom of what he has been saying. Therefore, friends, there is hope that we may yet be able to see India's spiritual standard restored in the civilised world.

Millions of men are moving about from place to place like mad and hopelessly deserted people. They have left not only their houses but all their property behind. In this crisis those who live in their own homes, be they poor or rich, are very fortunate. In this great and widespread misfortune, Bengal has been able to show the way to the other provinces. Both in East and West Bengal the leaders and intelligentsia have thrown their full weight in favour of peace, order and good understanding. I consider myself very

fortunate that in the last part of my life I have had the great privilege of being in Bengal and to preside over its affairs.

The Gurkhas need not be afraid that the Government of Bengal or the Government of India would neglect their interests. The Government of West Bengal is proud of the Gurkhas and cannot forget them. I advise you not to be misled by anger or passion or by superficial leaders and I appeal to the people of Darjeeling, irrespective of caste, creed, religion and philosophy, to contribute to their utmost to the common greatness of India.

Friends, let me say in conclusion that I very much appreciate your cordial greetings and warm words of welcome. You have my best wishes.

His Excellency's Presidential Speech at the Annual Prize Distribution Ceremony of the Maharani Girls' High School, Darjeeling, on the 20th October, 1947.

Maharani Saheba, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am glad to have been associated with this pleasant function and I congratulate the prize winners on the prizes they have received today.

People know well that education is the basis of all civilisation and progress, and that education requires peace, order and finance. Peace and order have been much disturbed in India. In the midst of these difficulties, however, education cannot wait because children grow without waiting for peace to be restored. But education means money. The Government of Bengal have been living for a long time on money borrowed from the Government of India. Borrowed money has to be returned but when Governments borrow they hardly think of returning the same. The present Government of West Bengal do not wish to continue the old practice of borrowing and not repaying. They therefore feel it a matter of great anxiety that the burden of education falls entirely upon the Provincial Government. It is very important that we should produce examples of well-educated mothers for the country and we cannot get exemplary mothers to suit modern times unless we have good girls' schools like this one. The education of girls is as important as that of boys. We must have more girls' schools and more boys' schools.

But good schools are costly affairs to Government. I want you to be patient with your Government for the time being even though they may appear to be stingy. The Government have to look after a big household and cannot be lavish and generous to particular individuals or institutions. It is difficult to please all communities, districts and schools. We should, therefore, be charitable with our Government. A great part of the education that we try to give in our schools could well be imparted in the home. After all, it should be remembered that the school is a mere co-operative institution for a number of families who send their children to the school. Whatever may be taught in the home should be taught in the home so that the balance alone need be paid for by Government or public bodies. You should, therefore, help Government in all possible ways. Judge them by their intentions and make your administration an all-round success.

A word of advice to the girls. Whatever work you do, do it in a tidy and sweet manner. It is not necessary to have an angry face. It is pleasant to have a cheerful face. If girls begin to laugh and put on a cheerful face, the boys will soon do the same. And when the boys begin to put on a cheerful face there will be no trouble in the country and we can then reduce expenditure on the police; and the money saved can be spent on education. Children, make good use of your opportunities, do not waste your time, learn to be good, learn to be wise and to understand one another. Quarrel with one another if you must on occasions but make it up quickly. Learn to love. I wish you all good luck in life.

His Excellency's Vijayadasami message broadcast from All-India Radio, Calcutta, on the 24th October, 1947.

'May I offer my affectionate greetings and congratulations to the men and women of Bengal on this occasion of joy and worship? All power flows from the Infinite Shakti that surrounds and supports us. Let us be worthy children of the Mother to whom we offer worship this week, worthy of the culture of our fathers and not fall a prey to petty forces of greed or other evil passions.

Durga Puja is the national festival of Bengal. In the remote villages as well as in the cities, people irrespective of religion, caste or creed gather together at these celebrations. National festivals are as important as the schools, the lecture-halls, parliaments or Governments. In every country of the world, festivals play a very large part in the conservation of national culture and character. They may appear to be sectional celebrations but in fact the entire body of the people irrespective of caste or creed take part in the joy of the celebrations, deriving fresh cultural inspiration from them every year. The Europeans and the Parsis in Bombay enjoy the Deepawali nearly as much as the Gujerathis. The Hindus in the south of India take part in the processions during Moharram week as much as the Muslims. No wonder then that the Puja celebrations rouse the same festive feelings in the minds of the Muslims and

Christians in Bengal as it does in the Hindus. The victory of Vijaya dasami is the victory of the Mother of all living beings over hatred and all other forms of ugliness. May common humanity triumph over all differences and let us renew every year our capacity for friendship. Pain instinctively felt for other's suffering, pleasure instinctively felt in other's joy—this is the invisible force that binds all humanity together just as the force of gravitation binds all matter together into one whole in this ordered Universe.

In matters of life and death it is dangerous to be vague. The problems of India and her present crisis stand in a class by themselves. It is useless to search for or follow precedents in other countries for their solution. There is only one solution for our Indian problem arising out of communal differences. We will perish unless we follow Gandhiji's advice.

In this imperfect world, we must retain for the individual the right of private self-defence to a limited extent. The arm of the State is not long enough nor is it necessary or desirable to wait for State interference in every case. Where a crime is committed, the victim or those nearby can exercise the right of defence. This is just what has been provided for in the laws of all civilised countries including India. Such self-defence supplements the authority of the police and may be considered to be a duty of the citizen. But the right of self-defence does not mean retaliation. We cannot kill A's son in retaliation for A's crimes. We may grievously hurt A in the course

of preventing his crime. But after the crime is over, it is not self-defence but retaliation and, therefore, forbidden to go and attack A or A's family or the members of his tribe or community. It is needless to add that it would be cold-blooded crime to wreak vengeance on unknown persons on the ground that they belong to the same creed as one who committed a grievous crime in some distant place. The loose talk that has been encouraged in connection with communal disturbances balancing the number of deaths in one place with the number of deaths in another place is nothing but a reversion to barbarity and the surrender of India's claim to be civilised. India cannot hope to live as a free country if she surrenders civilisation.

We have had a division of a single State into two self-governing States. This does not, however, give us a frontier for carrying on war between each other. It is the people and not the territory that form a State. Large masses of men and women permanently left on either side of the frontier render all talk of war and preparations for war between India and Pakistan foolish to the point of absurdity.

Having divided and settled down under terms of agreement which we should honour, we should respect one another's prestige and authority. Respect given by either State to the other will at once result in valuable enhancement of its own prestige and authority. Each majority should consider its care of the minorities within its territorial limits a sacred duty and a first charge on its attention.

Liberal principles in the treatment of minorities have become easier to practise as a result of the partition. Let us all so behave that India may regain her place of honour in the civilised world in spite of recent happenings.

His Excellency's Reply to a Public Welcome accorded to him at the Market Square, Darjeeling, on the 24th October, 1947.

I am indeed very glad and proud to be able to speak to you in this manner for the first time we meet on this holiday (Bijoyadasami Day) after India has been declared free and independent. I wish you all good luck during this year.

There are many difficulties and doubts in the minds of people now, but let us hope all these difficulties will be happily solved. India is free and the leaders of India have got heavy responsibilities on their shoulders. They are going up the steep road to international honour and position. Every quarrel of ours amounts to pulling them from behind. If we want that the leaders of India should go to the top successfully and enable India to attain her rightful place in the comity of nations, we must be friends amongst ourselves.

There is only one God and one Mother for all the peoples of the world. When the members of one community worship God in their own way, they do not do it in order that they may prosper and dominate over other communities but they offer worship for the good and welfare of all communities. All prayer is to the same Father and the same Mother. In heaven all communities dissolve into one single community.

The Himalayas is our father and Darjeeling is on our father's lap. The Himalayas is the throne of all

gods. Let us preserve its dignity and honour. We cannot preserve the dignity of a sacred place if we have quarrels and ill-will prevailing in the country. Unfortunately we are imperfect men and women and greed and hatred refuse to be out of our hearts. That is why we appeal to the Mother on Bijoyadasami Day to cleanse our hearts.

We want both India and Pakistan to flourish. There should be no quarrel between India and Pakistan and between Hindus and Muslims. Let us pray to the Mother on this Bijoyadasami Day that She will see that the leaders never fight. The independence that Indian leaders have secured will come to nothing if the communities quarrel with one another. India, whose victory we desire, consists of hundreds of communities and districts and if the districts and communities quarrel with one another, then the cause of India will be defeated. I assure you that the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal will both look after the interests of every community as if that community was its own first-born child. On behalf of the Government of India and West Bengal, I give you this assurance.

His Excellency's Speech at the Rotary Club on the 28th October, 1947.

I entirely agree with the speaker * that, unless we all work, there is no salvation for us. Production is nothing but intensive working. We must realise that in India today we are not only buying all manufactured goods from abroad but we are also buying our food. At one time we in India had enough food, but through an irony of fate today, we are faced with famine. No country can manage to live by buying all the manufactured goods and all the food that is required. This is a bankrupt condition and unless we all work hard and have surplus for export, we cannot last long. Unless we help each other, the world cannot be happy. When the war was over, we all thought that we were going to settle down to peace and happiness. The old quarrel has now appeared in a fresh form. It appears that misfortunes will not end, but let us take courage and let us hope we shall be wiser than we were before. Until all men get together God will not grant us happiness. Even things of so diverse a nature as oil which is greasy, unclean and dirty and caustic soda which causes irritation and burns, can, when combined, give us good soap. Let us hope that the caustic soda of Russia and the oil of America will one day mix and give the world the soap which she requires for washing. The world today badly needs washing, and let us hope that a formula will soon be found to make world affairs clean.

*His Excellency Dr. Henry F. Grady.

His Excellency's Speech at the Maidan, on the 30th October, 1947.

It gives me very great pleasure to see all of you gathered in this maidan. We have gathered to exchange good wishes and greetings on the conclusion of Id and Puja. From times beyond memory, man has been searching for a solution and an understanding of the mystery of the universe. This mystery, we have come to see, is insoluble and cannot be unravelled by the imagination and wit of man. But even though we cannot understand it, we understand enough to approach this mystery with a sense of awe and reverence. We have to approach it with awe and reverence whether we see a glimpse of it in the blossoming flower, in the volcano or in the evolution of man. When we see a dragon fly on the swift running stream or a little flower on the garden wall we see God and nothing else. When you put down the tiny seed into the soil and you see the tree coming out with its branches and spreading fragrance, beauty and colour you see God and nothing else. It was this that the Rishi in the Upanishads explained to his pupils in that beautiful chapter which those who have read the Upanishads can remember. When Tennyson sang of the little flower, he too saw God in that little flower. There is no greater joy in this world than a contemplation of this mystery which we can never understand fully. If different people approach this mystery in different ways, must we quarrel with one another instead of enjoying that great mystery together? When Abraham offered to sacrifice his

only son at the call of God who wanted to try his faith he also showed the strength of spirit which God has planted in human heart. And this old grand and beautiful story is rendered in different ways by different religions—Christianity, Jewish faith and Islam. The Id which was celebrated only a couple of days ago was the common folks' manner of celebrating Abraham's victory over himself when he offered his only son to God. And if the Hindus of India celebrated in the form of Durga Puja and Lakshmi Puja this victory of man over evil, it is just another form of that great mystery and not different from it. We can approach this mystery in terror and in grief, we can approach this mystery also in joy so that even children can participate. Our Puja celebrations in which children participate illustrate this truth. When we made beautiful images of common clay and called them Lakshmi, Durga do you think we could do it without the spirit of God behind it. A little flower is as much a part of the mystery as the great Himalayas, a little clay-image is as much a part of the big mystery as the greatest monument on earth. It is our faith and our strength of spirit that can reach God either in a clod of earth or when we stand before the whole of the Himalayas. All forms of worship lead to the same mystery. Our fore-fathers showed great wisdom when they taught that every form of worship leads to God and that we should not, therefore, quarrel over forms of worships.

Our fathers were never wiser than when they laid it down that we should not disturb the faith of the common people, whatever form it may take.

And when during the last week the Id and Dusserah coincided was it a cause for alarm? No, it was a cause for joy, I tell you. When different people approach God in different ways and it happens that they do it in the same week is it not a matter for great joy? Therefore, let us hope, let us pray that hereafter too, for many years over and over again, Id and Puja may come together and Bengal may celebrate both in the same manner as she did this year. This week Bengal has set an example. Your Government, you officers and men and women have wholly triumphed during this week, did really enact the Mother's victory over evil and passion. May this victory spread over all India, not our fame but our example. It is foolish, it is insanity to believe that different people have different gods. There is only one God. The manner in which Bengal celebrated Id and Puja this time is a matter which has given, I have no doubt, the greatest joy to the Mother whom we sought to worship.

Prafulla Babu has returned from East Bengal and I congratulate him on what he has done there. On this festive occasion I give you all my best wishes by the right of being an older man than most of you. And I take it that we have exchanged sweet on this occasion in accordance with custom and in a symbolic manner. The joy on your faces is sweeter than any rossogollas that I could get here. And I drink in that joy as a child drinks the syrup. All good luck to you, my brothers and sisters, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and everybody else.

Whatever may have been the causes, whatever may have been the mistakes, whatever may have been the wisdom or folly, there are two States now. We must wish both of them well. It will be entirely wrong to imagine that the object of India is that Pakistan should dwindle in power and position. It will be equally wrong to believe that it is Pakistan's desire that India should dwindle in power and prestige. Both should rise in prestige and power and our goodwishes go to both at all times. Each state will attain greater strength and prestige if the other attains greater strength and prestige. If India by her assistance makes Pakistan more glorious, India automatically attains more glory by that fact. I need not stress the other proposition that Pakistan will attain greater glory only if she assists India in attaining glory. It would be displaying an obstinate and stupid mentality to be harping on matters which long ago were settled one way or the other.

There is no purpose served by raking up old controversies and saying, "did I not say so" or things like that, and wasting time in that manner. In all these matters the people of Bengal, the Press of Bengal and all those politicians and statesmen who have assisted in maintaining peace in Bengal have helped in a manner which is truly glorious.

Allow me to tender my appreciation of the Press and all those who helped to enable us to meet today in this happy manner. It is not easy to suppress one's views and moderate one's expression. It is as difficult as it was for Abraham to give up his son Isaac. A man is usually fonder of his opinion than

even of his boy. I am not, therefore, exaggerating when I say that it is nearly as difficult to restrain one's expression when one holds strong views as it is to offer one's own son for sacrifice. I am not, therefore, guilty of an exaggerated figure of speech when I tell you that the Press of Bengal has really done a sacrifice. I thank you all once again. I congratulate you all and I join with you in all your happiness.

His Excellency's Speech at the Tree-Planting Ceremony at Government House Lawn, on the 31st October, 1947.

• I think I have done a good piece of work today. I do not think that any officer, whether he is a constable or a peon or a Governor, can do any more useful work than planting a tree. Nobody should cut a tree in India without planting two plants instead of the tree he cuts down. You should not cut the young branches of trees, for a tree cannot afford to lose tender branches any more than you can afford to lose your fingers. How would you like it if trees went about plucking your fingers from your hands? But the poor trees cannot do so because they cannot move. You are given the power of moving but you should not misuse that power.

We all know that trees are living creatures. When I say "we all know" I mean that all uneducated people know it. All uneducated people know that trees have life but the educated people are very doubtful. There is nothing more beautiful in the world than a living tree. It is as sinful to deprive a living tree of its leaves as it is to shut up the mouth and nose of a growing child and prevent him from breathing.

We must be as tender to trees and plants as we are to children. Not only have plants life but I may tell you they are god themselves. That is why we worship the Tulsi plant, that is why

we worship the Aswatha tree, and that is why we worship the Neem tree. You can take a piece of earth and make Durga out of it. You can make Lakshmi out of a clod of earth. With our own hands we make Pratimas but God makes a tree out of a clod of earth. We must therefore treat all plants as we treat Durga or Lakshmi whom we worship every year.

I came into this house as a stranger. I am glad that I have been able to plant five trees this morning which will be here even after I go. The gardeners here will, I hope, look after these plants carefully and when any of these plants dies I hope I will get information.

This Aswatha tree here represents Saraswati the Goddess of Wisdom, this Neem tree represents Parvati the Goddess of Bhakti, and the Tulsi plant represents Lakshmi the Goddess of Compassion, and may this country be a combination of all these three. Let me hope that the trees will soon grow and give flower and fruit. These plants will take some time to grow but the Tulsi plant will grow very fast,—Compassion grows much more quickly than Wisdom or Bhakti. May you all be compassionate in all your activities.

His Excellency's Reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, on the 4th November, 1947.

Mr. President and Friends of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce :

I am very grateful to you for all the trouble which you have taken in extending this welcome to me and in presenting this beautiful address. I have been in Bengal for eleven weeks and I have been overwhelmed by the kindness and confidence shown by the people of Bengal in general and in particular I have been deeply touched by the confidence shown by the Muslim community. Whatever may be my defects or lapses, let me assure you that I shall never disfigure my life with any deliberate acts of injustice to any community whatsoever. I can assure you that the Government of West Bengal shares my anxiety that we should not be guilty of any dereliction of duty in regard to the minorities in the country. Whatever the defects in the carrying out of the schemes and plans of the Government of West Bengal may be, I can assure you on behalf of the Government with which I am associated in my present office that they will never be guilty of anything by way of discrimination towards any section of the people. They have given their assurances already and you must take their words as true.

Peace has been disturbed in Bengal and elsewhere, but thank God, so far as Bengal is concerned,

all sections of the people are genuinely anxious that peace and goodwill should be maintained so that progress may follow. You have rendered great service for the restoration of order and peace in Calcutta and you have set an example to the whole of India and I have no doubt that your services will be appreciated as great national service.

You have referred to my being specially fitted for this office. I hope that I shall be enabled by God to fulfil your expectations. Your assurances of co-operation have been expressed in beautiful words and I am sure that the Government of West Bengal will welcome your services, whenever opportunity occurs, not only in building up the progress of this Province but also in any other manner for universal peace and progress. The business community throughout India naturally has been apprehensive that as a result of the revolutionary changes in the country, something might take place which might undermine stability and endanger progress. But I am sure that by now the members of the business community will have seen that there is no reason for any apprehension or room for danger. I do not believe that the statesmen of India will fail in their duty to the business community.

Calcutta is truly—in spite of everything that might be said about other places—still the most important centre of business in India, and I am very glad that the business community has not allowed itself to behave and act in such a manner as to endanger the future of trade and commerce in Calcutta. I am very glad

that Calcutta is a safe and sound centre of business and that you will continue your activities here undisturbed. Those who love peace form by far the largest number in the country and whatever the personal ambitions of a few and their delusion might do by way of deceiving the common folk, I have no doubt that the business community will always stand for peace and ordered progress. Your prosperity and success in trade, commerce and industry are inextricably bound up with peace in India. I hope, therefore, that nothing will disturb your activities for peace and prosperity whatever happens elsewhere.

Thank you very much once again for all the trouble you have taken in coming here to present this address to me. I congratulate you on the beautiful words in which you have expressed your sentiments in this address.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Function of the Relief Welfare Ambulance Corps at the I. T. F. Pavilion at the Maidan, on the 28th November, 1947.

I am very glad to be back in happy Bengal. In Delhi almost every face I saw was darkened by gloom, anxiety, anger, bitterness. It is a relief to come to a place where every one has on his face a look of joy and a feeling of trustfulness. As men sow they reap. The people of Delhi and Upper India are reaping their harvest of gloom and fear and sorrow. The grace of God that descended upon Bengal—East and West—has been maintained by the wisdom of the citizens and there is therefore joy instead of fear and depression. May this wisdom and this joy spread soon to unhappy North-West.

Our leaders who took over all responsibility from Britain have been tested by terrible trials and troubles. All international observers have testified to the courage and strength with which they have stood the avalanche of trouble. The world's admiration for the Government of India is great and genuine. We too admire our leaders but we should not stop with admiration. Our devotion should take the form of active co-operation. First comes the need to do all in our power to assist the rehabilitation of hearts. Individual vigilance and effort can gather a remarkable amount of momentum. May Bengal lead ever in the great and noble movement of goodwill. The secret of success in this is honest persistent individual

effort and freedom from all hypocrisy and underhand dealing. Let us hasten to recover lost ground in India's claim that she of all nations possesses a culture firmly rooted in love and compassion. This is Gandhiji's Ahimsa ; this is the core of Christianity ; this is Islam ; this is Hindu Dharma, Buddhist and Jain Dharma and Sri Guru Nanak's creed also.

Culture and good understanding and ordered civic life are essential for the development of prosperity. No trade, no commerce, no industry can flourish unless we recover the will to maintain peace and goodwill. May we be wise and restore hope and give strength to our national Government. It is utter folly to imagine that retaliation or insensate cruelty of any kind can produce good. No more can we stop folly by counter folly than we can quench fire by pouring oil on it. The volume of anger and bitterness will go on increasing and ruin will swallow us all if we fondly indulge in the satisfaction which at the moment we may get by retaliation. I saw Gandhiji just before I got into the plane to return to Calcutta to my post. He is sad beyond words. It is not an exaggeration to say that in his own way he is suffering what Jesus Christ suffered on the eve of the great tragedy recorded in the Gospels. What he passionately hungers for is that those who have not numbers or physical strength and who now live in fear, should be made to feel safe and breathe the air of friendship all round them. Let us do all we can to make our great leader happy and relieve him from the intense pain he is now suffering.

I am glad to preside over your annual function. You have substantial achievements to your credit. Those who have suffered in Bengal and in other provinces will remember with gratitude your untiring and ungrudging efforts to relieve distress. I wish you all success in your further endeavours in humanitarian work.

His Excellency's Speech at the Reception given to him by the British Indian Association, on the 3rd December, 1947.

Maharaja Sahib and Gentlemen:

It is a very great privilege and matter of pride to me that I should receive this welcome at your hands this evening. I share with your President the feeling that I am in an ancient historic place and to receive an address in this place from men like you is a matter of which any one can be proud, and I thank you very much for this privilege.

Ever since I came to Bengal you know very well how grateful I have been for the affection poured on me from all sections of the public. You have chosen to say very sweet things about me. I have gone through a long period—a fairly long period—of active service in politics and it is not given to everyone to enjoy a reward like this towards the end of his labours. I have, therefore, every reason to feel thankful to you.

Your Association is one of the institutions of India which have witnessed many changes in political and other fields. Your very name will now become a problem to you. So many changes have taken place that names of men, institutions, places and streets, dress, language—everything that had adjusted itself to the context of changing times becomes a problem at the present moment. It is difficult also to give up what has become one's own. You do not feel comfortable in the present context. But apart

from all other things and troubles, your name is a very serious problem and you cannot continue to call yourself the "British Indian Association". There is much in a name. The whole world consists of names. The name is not as unimportant a thing as the poet said about the rose. Now I shall not give you advice about this matter. It is left to the wise and considered decision of your Committee, and I have no doubt that you will take the right decision.

But apart from the name, there is some use for old things in this world. When sons begin to quarrel, the grandfather is of some use. Now your Association was founded even before the Congress and gave a platform and a beginning to the Indian National Congress. The Congress has served its purpose. When your Association started, Hindus and Muslims vied with one another in patriotic effort and in united endeavour. But now these communities have been told that they are not only followers of two religions and two communities but two "nations". God knows whether they will live in peace or they will quarrel with one another. In such a state of things, an old institution like yours may have some new purpose to fulfil. Ten years ago somebody might have advised the winding up of the British Indian Association. But today you have an opportunity to tell me proudly that in your Association people from all parts of India belonging to different communities, —capitalists, landlords, industrialists, etc.,—are all members of this Association. They became members at a time when differences were not known. They

continued as members by habit and today perhaps there may be an apposite function for your Association to keep together various communities and people in spite of what has happened recently and thereby perhaps you can open a new chapter of political and other activities.

You have referred to the great change that has come over India, namely, the status of independence that has been acquired. All changes have necessarily much concomitant distress to all classes of people. Your Association consists of all kinds of people but by accident of history a large number of landlords are in your Association. I believe there are no more unhappy people today in India than landlords. Everybody seems to have come to the conclusion that landlords are no use to the world. I have no doubt that though you have not referred to the subject, most of your members are oppressed by the thought that there is a dark future before them.

We sought freedom and liberty from foreign domination. We saw the difficulties of a free status but at that time only darkly as through a glass. Now we are face to face with liberty. Let us not shrink but bravely endure and fulfil the responsibilities of freedom. Let us work with faith and with hope in spite of all seemingly impossible difficulties. Let us remember that charity is above all else most necessary. Let us judge one another with charity. Let us understand one another with charity. Let us not be easily provoked. Let us not think evil. Let

us show that charity can bear, believe, hope and endure. Charity will never fail. This was what St. Paul said to his disciples. And this is what Gandhiji has been preaching for so long and is now daily fervently praying for every evening. He is praying in silence and tears to God and appealing untiringly to the common people whom he loves as dearly as he loves his God. Some wonder now at the things that have happened and whether charity is possible at all. Let me assure you that charity is not only possible but practicable.

Apart from charity to others, there are governmental problems. This morning as I went through the newspapers, I read the doubts of lawyers with regard to what the Government are doing. They asked why there is any delay in the complete emancipation of the citizen. Why is there any longer need for any repressive laws and special powers? The birth pangs of freedom appear to the jurists to be unduly prolonged even after delivery. Let us not, however, be impatient. There is restlessness abroad and this restlessness takes all kinds of shape which, if not repressed, will smother the new-born baby. All kinds of isms are gathering disciples. The ambition of individuals for personal power tries to clothe itself in some ism or other and plays about with the simplicity of innocent youth. If men will not exploit personal loyalties and organise youth based on force and intimidation, we could endure every ism in the world. The dependence of modern civic life on labour, the power of organised non-co-operation thereof, hunger-strikes, noisy and

irritating demonstrations that make public service miserable, the technique of sabotage, can all be used for personal ambition. And this, if allowed, will kill the hope of the reconstruction of India. I hope that you, who have assembled here, will give every help that you can to Government here and at Delhi and discourage all forms of sabotage and delay and obstruction to reconstruction and peace. The sacrifices of the past are sacred but they are things of the past. We want fresh and new forms of sacrifice. In Bombay, U.P., C.P., Madras as well as in Delhi—everywhere—the Governments have found the need for curbing anti-social elements and unpatriotic organisations. The need for stern and efficient Governments with the concomitant temporary curtailment of civil liberties has been felt in all the Provinces and in Delhi. When things have settled down and order has been restored, the juridical system of India will compare favourably with that of any other free and civilised country in the world. Bengal is—God may be thanked—free from the hatred and fear that make Upper India unhappy. But the crimes of armed gangs, born of love of loot, are still too far in evidence. Organisations based on the creed of intimidation and built on personal rivalries and engaged in unconstitutional activities must be put down, if we want democracy and ordered rule to have a fair chance. This is not the time for theoretical reiteration of the 19th century slogan of liberty. The context requires remedies for grave evils that threaten order and peace and everyone must help. The laws of normal

hygiene do not apply to sickness. They may be followed when the patient is free from his dangerous ill-health. Now the diet and restrictions of sickness must prevail.

I am sure you will agree with me, and will not deem what I have said as irrelevant to your kind welcome and reception. I felt it was my duty to refer to the grave problems of the day. Thank you very much for the honour you have done me.

His Excellency's Speech at the Reception given to him by the Bengal Muslim Association, on the 6th December, 1947.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

I thank the Bengali Muslim Association for the very kind reception they have arranged here. Functions of this kind are not merely for eating : they are also a political programme. I feel that one of the reasons why we have been fighting with one another is that we have not been eating together. Every disease can be cured if we find out the cause correctly. The reason why we have not lived peacefully together in recent times is that we have not learnt to sing, sleep and eat together as often as we should. We must therefore launch a programme and an active programme of eating together, playing together, working together and living together if we wish to improve the condition of affairs in India. Some wise men may think that eating, sleeping, working, playing and so on are trifling things like that cannot improve the situation. But that is not correct. My view is that since we quarrel over trifling things, we can make up also by attending to trifling things.

If we attend more meetings like this one, where Hindus and Muslims come and eat together, I believe things will improve. A rupee spent on foodstuff at a common gathering is better spent than a rupee given as subscription to a political organisation. I also wish to say that not merely men but also ladies of all communities should meet together often. Women understand difficulties arising out of riots and

disturbances better than men do. The women of all communities have suffered during the last few months more than the men could ever possibly think of inflicting on them. We have by our follies brought about such misery to Indian womanhood as we will never be able to answer for before God. We may quote from the scriptures of any religion but God will not pardon us for the sins we have committed. I am afraid that there is no chance of our obtaining forgiveness unless we actually behave better than we are doing, and cleanse our inner spirit.

I admire the courage and the patriotism displayed by Muslims in the Dominion of India. I admire their courage for giving expression of loyalty to the Indian Union and to the Indian National Flag. I can well understand the amount of sacrifice involved in this and if any one doubts my proposition, I would ask him to put himself in the position of a Hindu in Pakistan who was offering allegiance to Pakistan and its State Flag. It is only then that he will understand the force of my argument.

There is no remedy to the present state of affairs except what Gandhiji has been preaching. What Gandhiji has been saying is nothing new. It is the fundamental of all religions, including Islam and Hinduism. It is this that if you want to improve other men's character you must first improve your own. If you wait for the other man to improve his character before you improve your own, you will have to wait till doomsday. The only other way is the way of force which would lead to misery and suffering. Let therefore the people in the Dominion of India

behave well with one another and then matters will automatically improve in Pakistan. This is the simple prescription which Mahatmaji is trying to give to his colleagues and friends.

• One more thing I wish to say but it has nothing to do with communal quarrels. We have begun an era of freedom. This is the time for work and not for quarrel. If we do not work now but go on quarrelling, our state of independence will be worse than the state of dependence. We cannot be happy unless we have wealth in the country. We cannot have wealth in the country unless we all work in the plain and honest sense of the word. Whatever may be our profession, if we do not put forth honest work, our country will become poorer. If we waste the early hours of the morning, that is to say the first years of independence, we shall be poorer in the evening.

People talk to you about many plans and schemes. I wish these people go to Russia and see how the Russians are working today. They will then see how much suffering the Russians go through and how unselfishly they work for the State. I would say therefore that laziness should be made a capital offence in our country ! A murderer kills only his victim but a lazy clerk kills the whole State of India. We must put aside all other ideas now and every man and woman must do the allotted work with double-speed from now onwards—otherwise there is no hope for the country. You may not agree now with what I have said this evening but ten years hence you will discover that I was right and you were wrong.

His Excellency's Speech at the Prize Distribution ceremony of the St. Xavier's College, on the 12th December, 1947.

Father Rector, my young friends, and ladies and gentlemen :

It gives me very great pleasure to preside on this festive occasion of the St. Xavier's College. You have listened to the interesting report of the Rector ; you have seen the enthusiasm of the students as well as that of the Professors and the results as set out in the report. In the course of his report the Rector quoted high authority for the maintenance of discipline in life. Discipline is difficult. The atmosphere all round us is not favourable for its maintenance. It is easier to study and pass examinations than to control oneself and observe vigilant self-restraint and that is why whenever any one speaks to students, emphasis is laid on the need for discipline. Discipline is, as I have said, difficult to maintain. You will pardon me if I say that the difficulty is increased by the hesitation of those who are responsible for giving advice. Even here you have noticed—if the Rector will forgive me—how the language demanding enforcement of discipline is sought to be put in the mouth of other people than in the mouth of the Rector himself. Friends we want discipline ; I ask you to be disciplined.

May I take this opportunity to say clearly and firmly that principals and professors of colleges

must talk plainly and firmly to those who are in their charge and tell them—"We want discipline otherwise we shall have nothing to do with you." This must be said clearly and not put on the shoulders of others. I do not mince matters. I tell you exactly what I feel. If principals and professors talk plainly and firmly and without hesitation, I know my brothers and sisters, boys and girls will understand them and follow their advice. Let there be no beating about the bush, as the German Professor in the comedy, the "Chinese Puzzle" that we just now witnessed, made abundantly clear. We should talk plainly to one another though we need not be so brutal as the German Professor. I tender this advice to principals and professors because I have faith in our boys and girls. Were we not disciplined from time immemorial? Are we not born of the wombs of those who were resolutely disciplined, the descendants of *Munis* and *Rishis* of the past?

Discipline was never more necessary than now when, as the Rector put it, we have entered on a new era since August 15th, 1947. We have now begun a new era when nobody is responsible for us but ourselves. If we do not work hard and behave in a disciplined manner our state of independence will be worse than our state of dependence. Independence is a mere context that we have achieved a state of our environments but the substance of Independence has yet to be gained by our own deeds. Must we not work to produce? Must we not study to learn? Must we not learn to behave well?

Therefore, friends, let us keep our ideal before us. Let us not unloose the reins but hold the horse firmly and let us direct the chariot in the right direction. I shall not detain you any longer. I thank you very much for giving me the courage to talk plainly to you.

**His Excellency's Speech at the All-India Winter
Exhibition (Academy of Fine Arts Exhibition),
on the 21st December, 1947.**

Lady Mookherjee, Ladies and Gentlemen :

Though I do not know much about painting or other forms of art, I know enough to feel that it is a very great privilege to be asked to declare an exhibition of this kind open. I, therefore, thank the Academy and tender my gratitude for giving me this privilege. And I specially thank Lady Mookherjee for all the nice things she has said about me. It is our duty, not only of those who have position and responsibility but of every citizen to encourage art. There is no doubt whatsoever that the hopes of the President of the Academy will be fulfilled in regard to the patronage and encouragements it expects from the Government in regard to fine art. There is no lack of desire on the part of those who have the privilege of guiding India in the present free status, to help people to achieve great things in every department of life and they include, and the present Government in New Delhi includes, many eminent men who have great appreciation of the fine arts.

The Governments of the Provinces will, I am sure, do all they can but in a field of this character, it is the Government of India that will have to and will gladly do a great deal to help and encourage.

We have in the Minister of Education at the Centre one who, I can testify from personal knowledge, has a deep regard for fine arts in every department and I have no difficulty in telling you that you will get every kind of assistance from him and his department. You have only to make things clear to him and he will make it easy for you.

As regards the progress of art in free India we have to wait some time for achievement. I said there was great desire and aspiration but achievement is different from aspiration. We have to wait because of our troubles. How can men who have to deal with so many problems and difficulties that have arisen—not only expected difficulties but unexpected difficulties which have come all on a heap find time to distinguish, discriminate and encourage the calmness of thought and leisure so necessary to the pursuit of art and discover the resources out of which the encouragement could be assured. Everything can be reduced to terms of money. They have to find money to build houses, raise a museum and give help and encouragement to various artists. To do all this you will have to ask for some time in the present context. I hope, therefore, that artists will favour the Government with a little patience and forbearance. Whether it be poetry or literature or music or painting forgive me if I take the liberty of saying on this occasion that those who practise these great fine arts are apt to be impatient with those whose duty it is to encourage the arts. Our admiration and appreciation may be great but the resources out of which we can find sinews for

encouragement may be limited and it does not mean that we do not appreciate or respect those who have attained skill in the arts if we are a little slow in the fulfilment of our responsibility.

There is a tendency to get angry nowadays. I find that in every department. I find anger more prevalent than it should be. Everyone has a tendency to feel that someone else has forgotten to do his duty. It is imperative that we should try to cultivate this one great fine art of not getting angry. It is a very necessary fine art for the progress of India. Unless we learn this very difficult art of not being angry we shall not progress. Poets, musicians and other artists get very angry with everybody else because people are busy with other things and do not pay sufficient attention to them. The very talent that is required to understand the emotion and to feel the emotions which are required to bring out a good picture or a good poem or literature or a good piece of music, those very talents seem to incline the artist to anger and sometimes to bitterness. I do hope that we will along with other arts, develop what I take the liberty of calling the fine art of not getting angry.

Even if you have cause for anger please do not be angry. If you have no cause for anger there is no reason to be angry. And I can be harsher with you. But if you have reason to be angry, *then* is the call for the fine art, I told you about and to suppress your anger.

When reading a newspaper, do not read what is actually said there. It will only make you angry. But read between the lines and you will realise to some extent the amount of work and the anxieties heaped on the shoulders of those who have taken responsibility for governing India. Those who have taken up this responsibility came eagerly to take the responsibility because they thought it a privilege to serve India. But the problems they have to face are really difficult. They never imagined they would have to face such trouble, such a volume and such unexpected quality of anger and bitterness. Therefore be kind to them.

I should be sorry if I forget to congratulate the Academy and also to add that Bengal is and has been leading India in the field of art. And it is, therefore, no surprise to find that this Academy has been able to collect so many exhibits, nearly 1,000 for an exhibition organised amidst so many short-comings and in such a great hurry.

I would ask you to go round the exhibition in a spirit of humility and learn and enjoy what the pictures teach. We cannot judge the pictures. We can only enjoy them. A few people have been appointed to act judges but this is only makebelieve.

I once again thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for giving me the privilege of talking to you on this occasion. I now declare the exhibition open.

Inaugural Address by His Excellency the Governor of West Bengal, at the 30th Session of the Indian Economic Association Conference, on the 22nd December, 1947.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Lokanathan and Friends :

You have asked me to inaugurate this Conference of Indian economists. If it was your idea to confer this honour on one who did not know much of the subject you could hardly have made a better choice.

We are passing through very difficult times and one is distressed at the way in which things sometimes move. Only this morning there was news of a train disaster. Such disasters seem to have now become frequent and we wonder how the previous administration kept them down to a very small number. Something has happened to us which calls for close examination. Unless we put religious fervour in work in accordance with the teaching of Bhagvad Gita, there is no hope for the country. It could not be that any superior virtue of the British was the secret of good administration of departments under their rule. The reason probably was that obedience to authority was then the rule. It is our duty to impress on public servants that work and more work, honesty and more honesty should be our formula. I welcome the decision reached at Delhi that for the next few years there should be an industrial truce—no strikes and lock-outs but more work.

The need for greater production and better distribution is at present engaging the serious attention of all. Every body talks about planned production and planned distribution. But planning by itself cannot solve problems. Plans should be capable of early execution and honest and strenuous work is more important than planning. New ideals will overtake us before we do anything much with our plans and we shall be compelled to plan anew.

My appeal to economists is that like other scientists they should feel completely free and should not imagine that they are to please one set of politicians or another. This is very necessary because we are not now in the hand of other nations, their statesmen, administrators or economists. We have to follow our own line and to work for the progress of the country and help the Government in their task. While reading the inaugural address delivered last year at Karachi, I was struck by the suggestion about economists being made kings. But if the wise philosophers that are learned in the science of wealth are to help in the task of looking after the Government of the country, it must be in the same way as the old kings took help from the "Rishis". Kings have now to be elected by those who are not scholared. We cannot force any formula of selection on democracy. Another difficulty is that economists differ among themselves. The "Rishis" of the ancient days did not differ from one another as much as the economists do now. Take, for instance, the burning question of controls. There are conflicting opinions on the subject even

among political economists, some going all out for decontrol and others equally vehemently favouring retention of control.

It would, in my opinion, be good for the Indian Economic Association to appoint a panel of eminent economists to study and devise plans and schemes and to offer advice to Government on important matters. They should refuse to be guided by anything but truth and, even without being asked, should offer their considered opinion on the pressing problems of the day. They need not wait for sanction from Government; the authority of their opinion would be enough. Those who were responsible for governing the country today were shouldering many heavy burdens. It is our duty to guide them properly. They have no time to study and contemplate. It is for you to guide them. If, therefore, this Conference instead of placing doubts and different schools of thought before the country put forward their considered opinions on matters it would be a great assistance to those who have undertaken the difficult task of governing the country.

I have just been able to glance through the copy of the Presidential address that was placed in my hands a little while ago. It takes for its theme the whole problem of Asian reconstruction. I did not find much in it bearing on the problems of India but now we have begun to view all our problems in a larger context. It is but proper that such a conference should attach great importance to the problems of Asia. I have known Dr. Lokanathan,

your President, for several years and I have little doubt, that he will bring to bear on your deliberations his vast fund of knowledge and clarity of vision. I have now great pleasure in inaugurating the conference and expressing my best wishes for a very successful session.

His Excellency's Speech at the Convocation Ceremony at Santiniketan on the 24th December, 1947.

Acharya, Ladies and Gentlemen :

Thank you for giving me the opportunity of participating in this picturesque function. The Chairman has said some very flattering things about me. She is an old colleague of mine and a fellow conspirator. It is her privilege to say all these kind things of me. It has been her privilege to do so for some time past. But it is a dangerous thing to be praised. I have seen in my experience that men are apt to believe even the most exaggerated description of them and they go wrong as a consequence. Let me, therefore, warn the graduates who have received their diplomas today against this temptation.

My congratulations to the graduates who have received their degrees today. Please remember the short address that was read to you on this occasion. It is mostly taken from the old Upanishads and is the best convocation address that one ever hope to receive in any University. Your institution is a thing of glory and is, as Dr. Holmes put it very beautifully, a lengthened shadow of Gurudev. You should assist in its becoming more and more a temple of peace and a place worthy of its synthesis by spreading all over the land the ideals and the pattern of behaviour you have imbibed in this institution. I Congratulate the professors and the management of

the institution on the brave manner in which they have been carrying on their work amidst difficulties. We are passing through very difficult times. In the midst of the onslaughts of various patterns of behaviour and culture and literature, you have to protect Indian culture. We cannot, however, safeguard our culture by merely looking back to ancient things. We must seek the true compromise between contending patterns of culture; and the compromise should be worked out not in haste, not in a spirit of dogmatism, but slowly and truthfully. The young people that go out of this institution have that work to do. By your lives, you should keep alive the pattern of behaviour made by our Rishis.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Public Meeting at
Suri, on the 25th December, 1947.**

Dear President, Brothers and Sisters :

I am sorry that I am not able to speak to you in your own language. I am too old to learn a new language. If those of you who are young wish to learn a new language, learn it at once. The English Government of India has changed into the Hindustani Government of India and, therefore, hereafter you will have to know Hindustani. We people of the older generation will pass away but the younger generation will not be excused if they do not learn Hindustani. I know how much you love your own language. But I also feel it my duty to warn you against loving it so much that you will not learn Hindustani, the language of the new Government.

Ever since I came here, I have heard people refer to great ancient names of whom they are proud. The great religious leaders of Bengal, whom Birbhum claims as her own, are examples for us to follow. The universal law which governs life cannot be borne by man except by the grace of God. The grace of God is represented by Lakshmi, Sakti, Christ and by all those who come as intermediaries between God and man. There was a time when the leaders of Birbhum led the way in Bengal in religion. May the spirit of religion be ever alive in this district.

This district will grow large and rich in course of time. In the new order it is contemplated that you will get plenty of water, the Ganges will come

down in large volume in this district. Acres of land which are now waiting for water will get it soon, when the engineers who are working here complete their labours. Meantime let us get ready in order to enjoy the benefits of that engineering. Unless we are good to one another we cannot enjoy anything in life. We have got freedom now but we are unable to enjoy it because men have been bad. Even though the father brings plenty of sweets and fruit for the children, it will be of no use to the children if they suffer from indigestion. In the same manner though the leaders of the country have brought freedom to the country our people having indigestion cannot enjoy the fruits of that freedom. But I congratulate you people of Bengal on your perfect digestion. When in the Punjab and roundabout Punjab men went mad fighting with one another Bengal remained sane and happy. I consider myself very lucky that I was the Governor of this Province, when this Province decided to behave so well. I am proud of you and you have reason to be proud of yourselves. Not only did you not behave badly when other people behaved badly but you refused to be misled even when people from other places came and persuaded you to behave badly.

You have a very good Government and if you will give full support to it you will get all the happiness that you desire to get. We are now a democracy, i.e., all of us have become kings and queens, but this does not mean that all of us should give orders. When I am hungry, my whole body is hungry. But to satisfy my hunger I do not take

food or rub it and paste it all over my body. I put the food into my mouth, swallow it properly and digest it. Only then will my hunger stop. Look around you and see how Nature works. If you want a tree to grow you pour water not on the top but at the root of it. The root is something like the government of our State. Our government (and our independence) is young. It is a small plant. You cannot dig up the root every now and then. Later on when it is strong you may cut a piece of the root for medicinal purposes but today it is young and you should not interfere with the root. A stable Government is very necessary now. You should give the ministers a chance to serve you. If you put a pot of water and rice over the fire and if you go on changing the firewood you will not get the food cooked. You must allow the wood time to catch fire and burn properly. But if you say, 'This piece of wood is not good and so I will take it away,' you won't get the rice cooked. You must, therefore, allow the Government to function long enough before you can judge that Government. This is my advice as Governor.

Now I shall turn to another aspect of the new administrations in India. In the old days, the Governor was the father of the administration—rather an angry father. But today the Governor is the mother and the Premier the father. It is useful to have a Governor with all the ornaments of authority given to him while in reality the burden of the administration is borne by the Premier and

his colleagues. Do not send petitions to the Governor. All petitions sent to the Governor are just opened and sent over to the Government.

Do not distrust officials. Any Government can work only through officials. Officials are like the hands of a human being. They are the hands of the Government. If I beat somebody with my hand, he does not get angry with my hand but with me. So, if you are angry with the officials for anything, do not turn your anger against the officials but make representations to the Government in the matter. Also remember that officials are in fact your hands. Look upon them as your friends. Officials and people should hereafter move like friends and behave as members of the same family. The Government as a whole is now yours and you must give it all support and keep it in order and not cut it to pieces.

I shall now conclude by thanking you for the affection you have showered upon me. I thank you for collecting Rs. 5,000 and for giving the sum to me. Whatever is given to the Government by way of taxes will have to be distributed according to rules and regulations. But this Rs. 5,000 is given to the Governor so that it might be used at his discretion. I have great pleasure in giving it to the Vidyasagar College at Suri. They are carrying on their work with great difficulty. May this prove a good seed for more and more money to be collected for the College. I give it with my goodwill.

I wish you all good luck.

His Excellency's Address at the Convocation of the Jadavpur College of Engineering and Technology on the 28th December, 1947.

Mr: President, Friends and Citizens assembled :

It is a great privilege to be present here on this occasion and to participate in a gathering where so many young people have assembled with aspirations and hopes for the future. I congratulate the young men on the pattern of behaviour they have developed in this College.

Friends, this College has an old and great history. It was started, as mentioned by the President, in 1906 with the wave of patriotism that moved the people of India from one end to the other. It was a protest against the foreign Government. Hereafter no such protests are necessary. That work has been done. 1921 was a year when a negative attitude was taken in India against the British Government, when non-co-operation was preached and students, lawyers and others boycotted the Government. Those were the days of agitation. Hereafter, take it from me, agitators have no place in india. In free India what is wanted is "work" and not "agitation." Agitation of a special type is always necessary. Do not exaggerate the point I am making. Some kind of agitation is always necessary but agitation, as we understood it in 1906, in 1914, in 1920, has no meaning in free India. In the new India, we need more engineers and technicians to build up our prosperity. We want engineering and all forms of co-operation.

You, young men and women, must, therefore, be up and doing and work for the prosperity of our land by leading vigorous and constructive lives.

When I was called upon to address this Convocation, I went through the last Convocation address of the Calcutta University delivered by Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh. I was enthralled by the amount of good advice that was packed into that address. I would advise you to take up that old address and read it carefully in the spirit of assimilation and understanding. As Dr. Jnan Chandra has explained, science inspires in its votaries a respect for truth and detachment that is necessary for progress in this world. It is truth alone that can take us along the path of progress and not propaganda and slogans. The biggest ideal in the field of science is truth. Hold to this ideal. Science is not merely a collection of facts, not merely a discipline or a method, but is also a faith, a creed, namely, the creed of truth. Wherever you may serve, be truthful and loyal to your ideal.

Everybody was supremely happy and glad on the 15th August, 1947, when India became free. I was here in Calcutta on that day and I was a personal witness to the joy of the people on that occasion. A few months have passed by. Are we as happy now as we were on that day? Freedom is a great burden and not merely a source of joy. The Britishers in India appear to be far happier today than they were before because the burden of administration has been lifted off their shoulders. In Calcutta we are fairly happy but in Delhi, everyone is anxious. The

problems that confront our leaders in charge of the administration of India are of a magnitude and quality which we had not anticipated and for which we have not been prepared. The trials which the rulers at Delhi have to face are far too heavy. But they are facing them like brave men. They have extorted the admiration of the whole world. Yet the problems still remain unsolved. What is our duty in this context? Are we to make the burden heavier for our rulers? Let everyone of us try to make their burdens a little lighter than they are now. This is not the time for quarrel or bickering. This is not the time to evaluate how much has been the personal gain. Everyone should now turn his eyes to those who are struggling in high quarters for a solution of our problems and reduce the difficulties of our rulers as far as possible. I do not think that the average citizen of India today has any notion that he must share in the anxiety and deliberations of those who are governing India. Everybody is inclined to think that they are good men, great men and that they will anyhow solve all our difficulties. I do not think even the autocracy of Lord Curzon was really so heavy a burden on Curzon's shoulders as the burden now resting on the shoulders of our popular leaders. It is not autocracy or tyranny and for that reason the burden of our leaders is all the greater. Therefore citizens, whether you are employers or labourers, whether you are gazetted clerks or non-gazetted clerks, whether you are an officer, whether you are an

ordinary servant, whether you are a constable, inspector or a sergeant or a literateur—let us now all be patriotic. Let us give Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues a peaceful time at least for three years. We must have peace and order in the country so that the Government may be able to carry on without any internal anxiety. No Government in the world has so much anxiety as the Government of India has. The care of so many millions is not a small charge and we are practically in the entanglements of a war. We do not call it war because we do not wish to make things worse. Yet so far as anxiety and mobilisation of resources is concerned, it is war. We must, therefore, all of us exert ourselves to bring all these problems to a quick conclusion. Every patriotic citizen should, therefore, wholeheartedly co-operate with the Government.

I give my blessings and best wishes to the engineers who have received their degrees today.

His Excellency's Speech to the Officers and Cadets of the 1st Calcutta University Officers' Training Corps at the Maidan on the 2nd January, 1948.

Gentlemen :

I need hardly tell you I am very pleased to see your pleasant faces. I am glad you don't dislike the training that you go through. The training may appear to be dull in the beginning but by and by you will find it interesting. The system of training has been arrived at as a result of very long trial and experiment. You are all intellectual boys who have been specially trained for using your brains. Till recently war was considered to be the occupation for non-intellectuals but now it has become the occupation of highly intellectual people.

In former days University boys had a handicap. Intellectuals generally get fatigued in physical exercise. Those who have no intellect worth speaking of generally stand the strain of physical labour better. But now you have no such disadvantage. The non-intellectuals are at a great disadvantage in modern war.

The other thing is the change in the Government itself. The Indian Army is now in a different position from the Army of former days. Formerly, the Army was working under a foreign power. Even though civil officers were working under local officials and ministers, the Army was kept carefully isolated and was functioning directly under a foreign power. Today it is different ; you are now working directly

under your own Government. Do you all realise it? Actual realization is something more than merely knowing that you are serving under your own Government. Suppose I keep a biscuit on the table, I know that there is a biscuit on the table. But when I put it in the mouth I realise the biscuit. The difference is very great. Now the Army must realise the fact that they are serving under their own Government. At every success at every stage in your training you should feel that it is a success for your Government, your own Government. The Army is all the time engaged in patriotic work whereas the civil people get mixed up in their own affairs. The Army people, if I may say so, are "professional" patriots; that is to say, patriotism becomes a profession. It is one thing to work for A and quite another thing to work for B. You are working for your own Government and it should make a lot of difference.

One more thing I wish to tell you. It is very important which I hope you will listen to and pass on to your comrades not only in the University Training Corps but to those who do not come for training. The State Service—whether it be a municipal service that supplies water or gas or a department in charge of rations, or a State Service which repairs the roads and is responsible for their upkeep, or a hospital service which distributes medicines and drugs to sick people or an Army which defends the country—is intended to serve the whole body of people and not only a section thereof. You are serving the entire body of citizens and not only the majority of the citizens or any sections of it. You are getting orders

from the majority but you are serving the entire people. You must serve all people of all castes and religions and of all positions in life who are citizens of the country.

In the old days the Army was asked to be loyal to the King. King means the whole State. Loyalty to the King means loyalty to the whole State. In those days it was easy for the young men in the Army to be impartial because they did not care one more than another. But today when you are asked to be loyal to the Government, you have to overcome a difficulty. You have to overcome the illusion of your community. You may think that it is very easy to work for the whole State and not to remember your own community. Unless you keep your lungs in good order you cannot run uphill. Unless you keep your minds in very good order, the Army will find it difficult to work for all communities whether they are the minority or the majority or they are your own or other community.

In the old days it was easy for soldiers to be impartial. But in India now unfortunately all politics are mixed up with community and creed. Everyday you open the newspapers to read nothing but communities and creeds. Everyday you hear the talk of politicians to find nothing but community and creed. But so far as the Army is concerned, I would tell you on behalf of the Government of India, the Government of West Bengal and on behalf of the Government as a whole, that you should have no communal bias. The Army should be straight like a gun. As the gun is a rigidly

straight instrument, similarly, the soldier should be straight. They should stand for the entire community and they should have no bias in their minds. You should forget your bias and be as just mathematically as a straight line or as your own rifle barrel is. That is a training which the officers will not give you but which your own intellect will give you. As University students you can well realise why this is necessary. You should think over it and be sure in your mind and infect everybody with that sense of justice. Otherwise you will not be soldiers, you will be members of a private Army.

You all know that most of the British Officers have all gone. You are all very glad, I know, because you realise that the Army is now in your own hands—not merely in theory but in practice and you are being promoted rapidly. But you must prove yourselves worthy of these promotions. Therefore, you should not be all mightily glad that all the experienced British Officers are going away. You may have some regret about it. However, we have to take over the burden ourselves. This undertaking requires strength, skill and persistence—resolution of mind and hard work. Therefore, the Army now must realise that we are responsible ourselves hereafter for officering the Army. We must have unity, discipline, carefulness and understanding. That is why hereafter all officers will be University men. This means that hereafter there will be rapid promotions, and the natural temptation for men will be to work for promotions. The Army will become a hot-bed of intrigue if people act for their selfish ends. You must be disciplined not only in your

hands and your legs but in your tongue and in your mind. This is our own Army. If we ruin our Army we will be ruining ourselves. Great discipline in conduct and in behaviour is necessary. If we have no discipline in our conversation and general conduct, the Army will soon degenerate into factious groups. You must learn to do things first class and get full marks.

Thank you very much for listening to me so long. I hope I have not tired you. Go through all your training conscientiously and with respect for the practice and procedure that have been adopted after considerable experience.

His Excellency's Joint Reply to the Addresses presented by the Murshidabad Municipality, the Public Reception Committee and the Lalbagh Subdivisional Congress Committee at the grounds of the Murshidabad Palace, on the 6th January, 1948.

Mr. Chairman, Commissioners of the Municipality, President of the Reception Committee and Congressmen, sisters and brothers :

It gives me inexpressible joy to see so many people of varying creeds and professions sitting together in friendship and amity. I am deeply moved by the words that have been put down in the addresses I have just listened to.

This place is no doubt historical but Murshidabad history is simply pathetic. This morning as I went around this town I felt I was going round and seeing the dead body of a beautiful elephant. It was a great elephant, beautiful and big but it is all dead now. What I saw has filled me with sadness but all history is like this—change and destruction—and it is only if we are honest, brave and industrious that we can improve conditions here as elsewhere.

Remember, your tragedy here in Murshidabad is only a reflection of the tragedy all over India. When one comes to a place like this one sees the whole tragedy before his eyes as painted in a small picture. We must therefore be up and doing in order to convert this tragedy into prosperity. All the people—all men and women—in India, wherever they may be, to whatever profession or class they

may belong, whatever religion they may profess, all must now decide in Free India not to quarrel with one another and waste time and resources in quarrels but to work productively. Patriotism hereafter will consist only in work. All the money, all the wealth that we have still in our possession should be used so that we might produce more.

In this place I imagine I see a typical spot of Bengal, where by a good accident a very large number of Muslims has been included in what may by some be called Hindu Bengal. It is the duty of the Hindus of this place to show that Muslims can be happy and without fear here.

Let no Hindu imagine that Murshidabad has been given to the Hindus ; let no Muslim imagine that Murshidabad has been taken away from the Muslims. Murshidabad remains where it is. Hindus and Muslims remain where they are. The greatest curse that came down upon us in recent times was not famine or disease but fear. This was a great town ; it has now become a jungle. We have become afraid of one another as if we were all wild animals. It is not the dilapidated houses but fear of one another that make this a jungle. If we want Murshidabad once again to rise in glory and to become beautiful and prosperous we must first of all drive out fear from our minds. I want you all to give up fear and mutual distrust.

I want to thank you all once again for the three addresses presented to me. You have impressed upon me indelibly the pathos of this place and I hope

that I shall be able to be of some service through the Ministers. I can never forget this occasion as this is not a mere picture but an assemblage of human hearts and I thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

His Excellency's Joint Reply to the Addresses of welcome presented by the Berhampore Municipality, the Murshidabad District Board and the Murshidabad District Congress Committee at the Barrack Square, Berhampore, on the 7th January, 1948.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It gives me great pleasure to see you all assembled here. Berhampore and Murshidabad and all that I have seen around here, which from the pathos of their half-forgotten history fills one with a peculiar sadness, remind one that this world is a world of vanities and failure of hopes. I have no doubt that when the rulers built their capital in Murshidabad they thought they would live for ever. In Murshidabad you see only the tombs and the houses of the dead carefully preserved and all the houses of the living allowed to be destroyed. All the destruction that we see around here carries a lesson for us. Let us not hug the delusion that this process of destruction is over and that hereafter all that we build will remain for ever. Destruction awaits everything that we do. Those who built the social organisations of the old days thought that those organisations would remain for ever, but we see before our very eyes how they broke down and crumbled down to pieces. When the 19th century industrialists built the industrial machine, they imagined that it would continue for ever, but today we find that the very instrument of production has enslaved mankind. This is not the

language of pessimistic religion ; I am only telling you what science and reason tell me, namely, that destruction and change await every thing that we build. There is, therefore, no room for pride, no room for hatred in this world.

You will, therefore, forgive me if your addresses with reference to myself have made no impression upon me. In our struggle in India during the last fifty years any one who is about the age of sixty has done as much sacrifice as myself. Everyone who has attained this age has made as much sacrifice as myself. Do not, therefore, imagine that they weighed me in delicate scales as they weigh drugs and poisons and carefully selected me for the Governorship of Bengal. I am very grateful, however, for the affection that has been expressed in the addresses. Scientists tell us that every particle of matter attracts every particle of matter other than itself in the universe. We call this physical phenomenon "gravitation". In the same manner every soul attracts every other soul and the law of God, which is the law of love, prevails all over the universe. The word is small but the thing is too large for us to comprehend. Just as the force of gravitation becomes obvious when two things are brought together and you feel the weight of it, when two people come together the law of love operates, as you can understand. Even when they are apart from one another it is still operating though you do not feel the weight of it. Two men may hate one another but the hatred can be removed through love.

The law of love is as true as the law of gravitation. All the hatred that we witness today in India between man and man will also vanish when God opens His eyes of grace on us and we love one another shedding fear and jealousy.

If a marriage ceremony is not finished in five days but is carried on for 10 years, the husband and wife will not have learnt how to live together. They will get habituated to the fun and the noise of the thing and will not know how to live a married life. There are some patriots now in India who feel that the wedding should not be over and should be carried on and we should not settle down to married life. There are still many who continue to suspect the officials and there are some officials who still live in the old atmosphere. But I wish to say to them, "My dear friends, you have married these officials with whom you have to live". The leaders who have taken up the responsibility of Government are doing their best. They have extorted the admiration of the world ; we must help them and not hinder them. What has happened in India, the unprecedented movement of populations across the new frontiers demands and is receiving the closest attention of Government. I want to know whether in this context labourers and industrialists, labour leaders and industrial leaders, men and women everywhere are willing to help the Government or whether they will have fun among themselves. In the old days we were buying only manufactured articles from outside India but today we are importing

not only manufactured articles but also food, living splendidly on borrowed money. This state of affairs cannot last for long. Unless we produce things for domestic consumption and for export abroad, we cannot have wealth in the country. That is why recently Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru got labourers and industrialists to agree that for the next three years there should be no strikes or lock-outs. Patriotism hereafter will consist only in work. We must from now on drop laziness and quarrelling and begin to work. As the great national song that was born in Bengal says, we have thirty crores of people and sixty crores of strong hands, sixty crores of strong hands not for fighting but for working with. There is no need to be sorrowful. Make that song, which is an appeal and invocation to Sakti and a reminder of our own powers and of our two arms, the song of work and not the song of struggle. Our enemy is not the British or anybody else but our own laziness, and may the Bande Mataram enable us to fight laziness. Be good men and women and remember God.

His Excellency's Joint Reply to the Addresses of Welcome presented by the Krishnagar Municipality, the Navadwip District Board, the Public of the District (Muslims and non-Muslims jointly) and the Krishnagar Mahila Samity at the Cathedral Hall, Roman Catholic Mission, Krishnagar, on the 8th January, 1948.

Sisters and Brothers :

It is hardly necessary for me to say that I am deeply moved, deeply touched by all the affection you are showering upon me. I thank you for the words of encouragement and good wishes and appreciation that you have expressed about myself. All men and women, whether they be Hindus or Muslims or Christians or boys or girls or students or lawyers or merchants, all have reason to be glad and reason to unite and reason to work with a new will and invigorated spirit. Long have we slept ; it is now time to wake up. May God give us all the strength to fulfil our aspirations. In the midst of all this joy I cannot keep back my anxieties and my doubts. We cannot achieve any purpose in this world which God has bidden us do unless we work hard. If we stop working and if we stop doing penance, even the river which Bhagirath brought will dry up. All the sands that have blocked the rivers in our Province are a witness to our laziness.

The penance which Bhagirath did is reversed by us in doing wrong and being lazy. The troubles which we have gone through are enough to teach us a lesson which we can never forget. Every child, every boy and every girl that goes to school and reads history can realise that we lost our freedom and went through this long period of disgrace because we did not know how to love one another and how to co-operate with one another. It is our own folly, our own disunion and our mutual distrust which brought about the downfall of our people. The struggle for the past 50 years has brought us freedom. But that freedom is only a negative fact. Dependence has been converted into independence but poverty has not yet been converted into prosperity. Independence is merely freedom from foreign control, it is not Swaraj.

Some twenty-five years ago, when we were recasting the constitution of the Congress, your great leader late Deshbandhu Das moved an amendment that the word "swaraj" in the Congress constitution should be changed into "complete independence." "Swaraj" was the word used in the creed of the constitution of the Congress. After the amendment had been discussed for a while Deshbandhu Das came back and told me—I remember it vividly—that he had come to the conclusion that his amendment should be withdrawn and the word "swaraj" should remain. "Independence" in his view was negative, "swaraj" was bigger than "independence," and so he thought that the word

“swaraj” should remain as originally drafted. Independence was got as soon as the British retired but “swaraj” can be got only when we work. Today we are working out the proposition which Deshbandhu Das accepted twenty-five years ago.

When the ocean was churned by our forefathers, if we may presume to call the Gods our forefathers, what was first got was poison and not amrit. The very instrument which they used for churning the ocean emitted poison. The very ropes that they used for churning began to pour out poison. But Shiva mercifully swallowed it. Today, even before the churning is over, poison has been emitted which has set India ablaze and put her to shame. But there is a Lord Shiva who will swallow the poison and save us. Shiva has not disappeared with the churning of the ocean. Shiva lives today, lives in us if we have the devotion to worship him. If only we realise the Shiva in us, the God in us, we can swallow all this poison and make India prosperous. Thank God that the great Poison Swallower has left a devotee in Mahatmaji. Lest we should forget the truth in our weakness, he is here in flesh and blood continually to remind us of it, and I tender the gratitude of the whole nation to you, people of Bengal, for faithfully accepting that message and maintaining love and keeping the poison in your throat. I am proud that I have the privilege of presiding over your affairs for a brief period when you have been an example to the whole country. You can see therefore why

I am so grateful to you all. I am not intoxicated by the external marks of your affection ; I am intoxicated by your great good behaviour in your peaceful and loving preservation of order in Bengal when the rest of the house is on fire.

When the circumstances created by a new civilisation are imposed upon a nation which still remains at the bottom in its old civilisation, all kinds of complications arise. If progress is spontaneous and indigenous, there is no conflict, but when progress is brought from outside and is greedily swallowed, then complications arise. If we want the amenities of civilised life, we must work hard and honestly for them every day of our lives. To begin with a costly civilisation before we begin to work would be like beginning married life with a large load of debt. It is better to be without debt and live a simple life than to borrow money from the sarkar and to lead a happy and anxious life. If we want good roads, if we want good armies, if we want well paid clerks, well paid officers, well paid police forces, if we want also drainage, health and hospitals, and first class universities, colleges and schools, we must put in quality work and every man and woman must lead an industrious life. I consider that the Goddess of Freedom has come but it is not enough ; the Goddess of Industry must also come and we must hug her to our bosoms. But the Goddess of Industry cannot be invoked unless every limb of the body works hard. The Government at Delhi have planned to distribute crores upon crores to the Provinces but now money

is being spent like water in just putting out the fire that has been raging in the country. All our dilapidated houses in the villages and wooded jungles will begin to smile if we really have, as our national song says, arms not for adornment but for work.

On behalf of Government I plead for peace and for time being given to Government to think collectedly and to act in order to produce effects. The Government that you now have in charge of your affairs is determined on sincere and solid work and I think you can trust them. I ask for patience on your part ; I want you to forgive and forget one another's wrongs and to sit down to co-operation. If you take away the anxieties of disorder and confusion, your Government can do a great deal.

Europe was ruined by mutual distrust. But they are an industrious people and they can rise again after wars. But even a single war in India will be disastrous for all time. Friends, do not talk lightly of war and of armed forces. Leave all arrangements such as there must be to Government. The declaration of war would be a terrible disaster for all India and a signal for ruin. It would be almost as disastrous to the nation as for a single individual to commit suicide. Education and health cannot be secured if we live in a state of war, which, in India would mean civil war in every village. Let us therefore abjure all talk of war. In the soil of India and Bengal in particular, there is so much love embedded geologically that there would be no war if only we made up our minds. As an old man with

some experience of India and Indian conditions, let me tell you that it is better to take the risk of love and trust than to launch on a journey of distrust and hatred. Let us learn to think straight, let us learn to talk straight ; no hypocrisy will help us. Be true and faithful to the message of Sri Chaitanya Dev and other great men of your place.

His Excellency's Speech at the Garden Party at Birla Park, on the 14th January, 1948.

Mr. Birla, Ladies and Gentlemen :

It is not customary to deliver a speech at a party like this. When this reception was arranged, Mr. Birla did not know that Gandhiji would undertake a fast so suddenly. It was suggested that we should drop this function but then Mr. Birla thought that the occasion might as well be used for stimulating thought in the very matter over which Gandhiji has undertaken his fast and Mr. Birla asked me whether it would be proper to hold such a function. I said "Anything is proper where the intention is good " and so this was arranged.

We are all excited over Gandhiji's fast. We have witnessed recently numerous cruelties and barbarities of an unprecedented kind. Communal disharmony, fear, distrust and ill-will resulting in passion, thoughtlessness and leading to barbarity and cruelty were permitted to continue for an unconscionably long time. When enlightened men have become callous, a great one like Gandhiji feels that life is purposeless. Crime is common enough in this world. But when enlightened men, leaders of public opinion, men of trained intellect like officials and politicians are not sufficiently stirred to action by the wickedness and the folly around us, then a man like Gandhiji feels that life is useless. He says to himself—"What is the good of my living ? If it was something wanting in me, then

I must do something to make up for that. Have I exerted enough to bring the intellectual and social classes to think about these matters ? If I have done all I could and yet I cannot convert them, what does it matter if I die ? ” One can understand—at least I can understand—that a man like Gandhiji should feel that in the present circumstances life is not worth living.

Friends, I have been present on a number of occasions when he undertook fasts and I have wrangled with him on every occasion. This time, let me confess to you, I am not inclined to wrangle with him. I really do not see why we, old people, should continue to live if we are useless. What is the justification for continuing to live if we cannot stop such follies as we have gone through ? Of course, I am speaking of old men and not about the younger people. People like me who have grown up to an advanced age feel that if we cannot influence society it is better that we pass out. There is no pain in death. It causes pain to the people who are left behind but many men—great men—have died and we have forgotten all about them in course of time. It is not in a figurative sense that Gandhiji in his statement said that there is no friend like Death. Death saves us from all trouble and pain. What Gandhiji says about death is literally true.

Gandhiji has chosen a traditionally honoured method of dying. At the same time as he is not entitled to condemn his fellow-being outright, he gives them a chance. He says—“I shall fast and die unless you show me a change of heart.” Now, what can we

do ? That is the point. Gandhiji has not imposed too great a demand on us. What Gandhiji now wants, as far as I can see, is something less than what he wished for when he undertook the fast in Calcutta in September last. What he wants is that the men and women whom he has a right to expect to act at a high level should exhibit a determination to stop this thoughtlessness. He has given a very modest territorial limitation—Delhi—which is the metropolis of India and the centre of our culture. He will be satisfied and break his fast if the men and women of Delhi, leaders of public opinion responsible for the feelings and activities of large masses of human-beings show a real change of heart.

Look at our own Province. We have really reason to be proud of our Province. We have done fairly well in maintaining peace. We have set an example to the rest of the country from here. There are some people who are not satisfied. They say that things are still underground and are still explosive. But as far as I can judge, men have got into the habit of right thinking in regard to communal relationship, and that is all we can hope for.

Now, is it wickedness or is it thoughtlessness which is at the root of all these troubles. We are not essentially bad people. We are really the same people as we were before. We have not been suddenly possessed by a devil. It is mere thoughtlessness and its consequences. This being my view, friends, we have every reason to hope that in Delhi too there will be a change of mind and heart and that Gandhiji may be induced

to break his fast. At the same time something tells somewhat differently. I hope it is wrong. But something tells me I should not be too hopeful this time. Quite a number of our intellectuals have got into the habit of wrong thinking. I feel that people have become tired somehow. People do not wish to work in a hopeful way. They are angry. They do not listen to reason. They feel a showdown is necessary. Now, this is arrant nonsense. There is no doubt about it. The only sane man today is Mahatma Gandhi. The others are either wholly wrong or partly wrong. We must stop this thoughtlessness. We could have indulged in a showdown a thousand years ago, but it is not possible now. You can no more conduct a war than you can pull a grown up tree by the roots and keep it alive. We have got too far mixed up. We have adopted a new civilisation and we cannot do without it. Is it possible for civilisation to continue with civil war in every Province, town and village? We are far too civilised and it is foolish on our part to talk of civil war. We cannot have it both ways. We want civilisation because we feel we cannot live without it. Therefore if you listen to me you should give up all thought of bellicosity. Unless you change your mind, you cannot change your conduct. Mere words are of no use. Now, in Bengal you have a great opportunity to show the way because you have laid the foundations of communal harmony. If all people act like the people of Bengal Gandhiji may get the desired result and he may be induced to break his fast.

I do hope that you feel that this gathering at a garden party has been used to some good purpose. I know that Delhi temperature differs from that of Calcutta. Things are bad there. But let us hope and let us pray that things will go right. I do hope that your mental resolution will have its good effect beyond Bengal. Let us try to set an example in the old fashioned way of simple and trustful prayer and God will help us.

His Excellency's Speech at the 23rd Anniversary of
the Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association,
held on the 18th January, 1948.

**Mr. Justice Biswas, Lady Mitter and Ladies and
Gentlemen :**

I am delighted to be present at this function. It is a very good thing that it happens at a time when Mahatmaji has broken his fast and has decided to live a little longer. The girls who have received prizes today should look upon their prizes as rendered more precious on account of this good news. This institution is a very good institution. Srimati Saroj Nalini Dutt whose name this institution bears worked hard all her life in the cause of uplift of women and it gives me great pleasure to see that the people whose privilege it is to be associated with this institution now have shown so much enthusiasm and earnestness in maintaining it. Institutions such as this deserve the support of the general public. One thousand rupees given to an institution of this kind is a better investment than, for example, one thousand rupees invested in the Stock Exchange because the Stock Exchange is hereafter going to be "attacked" by Government on all sides. In the present taxation atmosphere, charity is a better investment. And money invested in the upbringing of a girl is money invested in the upbringing of a whole family. Our future depends on the education of the mothers of the country. I, therefore, want you all to consider help to women's institutions as the first charge on

your patriotism. As for Government help, if your President will prepare a good document, I am sure that Government will come forward to give this institution all possible assistance.

I wish you all success. May never any difficulty overtake you and God bless you all.

His Excellency's Speech at the Prize Distribution Ceremony of the Sri Didoo Maheswari Panchyat Vidyalaya held on the 23rd January, 1948.

Gentlemen :

I am very grateful to the authorities of the Sri Didoo Maheswari Panchyat Vidyalaya for having invited me to preside over this evening's function. Boys these days wish to govern the country rather than read books. Let me tell the boys, if you study well, later on you will become Governors. If you do not study well you can only be Governors in imagination but not in actual practice.

The Hindustani-speaking population of Calcutta have done well in paying liberally and looking after this institution. It is a very good thing to spend money these days : it is not a very safe thing to save money. Whatever is saved may be taken away by a bad Government. The more you save money, the more "greedy" Governments become. It is good thing to spend money on schools. You should get bigger buildings and play grounds. You cannot get big play grounds in the middle of a large city like this. Unless you provide the children with play grounds, the children will not study properly.

We are in a difficult world. Unless we have love and kindness and mutual goodwill established in India, we cannot be happy, whatever community we may belong to. It is not by mutual attacks that we can

create happiness ; it is only by mutual help and affection that we can create happiness.

I am very glad that the Hindi-speaking population of Calcutta has stood for peace and mutual goodwill,—at any rate ever since I set my foot here this has been your attitude. In old days trade could be carried on even though there was a civil war, but in modern days trade, being largely an inter-provincial business, cannot flourish unless there is order and peace throughout the land. In the old days it was only the soldiers that participated in fighting, but in modern days, when there is a strife or war, everybody is involved in the strife and all business necessarily suffers. Even if you do not give expression to them, angry thoughts are as dangerous as gunpowder.

Hindustani is the national language of India. There are crores of people of India whose mothers do not teach them Hindustani—who are waiting to learn Hindustani in schools.

It is the responsibility of the Hindustani-speaking people to find Hindustani Pandits for teaching the national language to people like me whose mother tongue is not Hindustani. I would therefore ask you not only to maintain Hindustani schools for your own children but also to pay for Hindustani-teaching Pandits in all the schools of Calcutta where most of the boys are quite prepared to learn Hindustani provided a Pandit is available.

The people whose mother tongue is Tamil, Telegu or Bengali are proud of their own languages because they think that their language contains excellent literature and is even superior to Hindi. But they are prepared to adopt Hindustani as the national language. But you should not force it on them. You will have to persuade them to accept it. We should be humble in order to succeed in our efforts in all matters. When you talk about the claims of Hindustani to people whose mother tongue is not Hindustani, please proceed with caution and prudence.

Once again I thank you for your kindness. And when I hear that the Hindi-speaking big merchants of Calcutta have undertaken all the burden of imparting Hindustani in the high schools of Calcutta, I shall thank you much more.

His Excellency's Speech at the Foundation Day of the Calcutta Medical College, held on the 28th January, 1948.

Dr. Ukil, Ladies and Gentlemen :

It has given me great pleasure to be present on this occasion and to give away the prizes and to listen to your address.

Medical students, your opportunity for philanthropic service is very great. Every sick man feels grateful to the doctor who relieves him of his sickness or pain. Medical men have, therefore, the straightest walk down to human gratitude. Admission into medical colleges is difficult these days and you who have been lucky enough to have been admitted should be grateful for the opportunity afforded to you to qualify yourselves for rendering humanitarian service and should concentrate on your studies and your apprenticeship so that you may bloom into the full flower of patriotism and philanthropy after you have qualified yourselves properly.

This medical college, the oldest in the country, is one of which you should be proud. I found the centenary volume of this institution most interesting ; the old history of any institution is always interesting and furnishes lessons for the future. All the difficulties, all the differences and all the calamities and doubts that belonged to the age long since gone by now seem to contain an element of humour. The moral is that everything troublesome and worrying now will later

become pleasant and amusing. The task of enlightened men is to summon up in the present that sense of humour which is the basis of culture and philosophy and is very necessary for life.

With regard to the many grievances referred to in the Principal's address, I would recommend you to approach the Government of West Bengal of which the Premier, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, is an experienced medical man and try to impress upon him your difficulties. But may I tell you that the demands on the resources of Government are many and various and a little patience is, therefore, necessary at least for some time. I plead for a little more order, a little more good humour and a little more patience on your part in dealing with the Government because their task is an immensely difficult one, their resources are much reduced and they can no longer depend on another Government since we are now independent. The Principal's address is full of thoughtful ideas but not being a medical man I confess I am not competent to deal with any of the matters dealt with in the address but it seems to me that I may refer to and warn you against what may be described as the spirit of denominationalism in medicine. In medicine, as in religion and as in many other fields, there is a growing spirit of denominationalism. The secret of disease and cure of disease is a matter of scientific research and achievement. Medicine is one. There is no such thing as Western medicine or Eastern medicine. The forms are different but truth is the same. I want you,

students, to fight firmly against this denomination-
alism in science. I, therefore, welcome the idea that
research should be taken up in modern medical
colleges and the old principles and facts known to our
ancients examined, verified, purified and made our
own.

His Excellency's Speech at the Prayer Meeting held at the Calcutta University Institute Hall organised by the Central Peace Committee, Calcutta, in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's Demise, on the 5th February, 1948.

Sisters and Brothers :

I had not imagined that I would have to speak to you on an occasion like this. I am confused, distracted and broken down. What I feel and express, in the language of a broken man, may seem to you to be stupid. It is difficult to speak when the heart is full of grief. One could speak to friends and family in conversation on an occasion like this but it is difficult to make a speech to a public gathering. The only language in which grief can be expressed is that of the lamentation of a child. Our learning and our rhetoric simply fail to express grief such as this.

I reached the banks of the Jamuna on the afternoon of 31st January and saw the flames consuming the body of our beloved leader. I met Sarojini Devi, Maulana Sahib and Jawaharlalji. We could do nothing but clasp one another in our arms and weep. Some weeks ago when Mahatmaji began his fast all India trembled with fear. He broke his fast when the leaders of all communities in Delhi gave him their pledges and all India rejoiced. When Mahatmaji began his fast he was in sorrow but when he broke his fast nobody was more glad than Mahatmaji. He wished to serve India for some more time. When he saw things improving he was as happy as the bird that

was playing with its mate over the head of Valmiki. Now, Bharat Mata is writhing in anguish on the ground over her lost mate. No man loved his sweetheart more than Mahatmaji loved us. When the bird was struck down by the cruel hunter, Valmiki was overwhelmed by pity and shouted : "O cruel hunter may you never find peace on earth." That passion and the rhythm in which it found expression gave the rhythm and the melody to the Ramayana. May our own history be written to the tune and rhythm of the passion that was suffered by Bharat Mata when Mahatmaji fell. May the grief and the tragedy that was enacted in Delhi give us the inspiration and the rhythm for shaping our future history.

Are we lamenting for Mahatmaji ? I tell you Brothers and Sisters, Mahatmaji was very dear to me, but I do not grieve for him. No man can find a death so glorious. He was working to join and lead prayer. He was going to speak to his Ram. He was a few minutes late and so he was walking fast and he wanted to go to his place as quickly as possible. How many of you would not like to die when running to pray ? Mahatmaji did not die in bed, he did not call for hot water or doctor or nurses. He did not die after mumbling incoherent words in sickness and unable to identify the relatives and friends around him. He died standing, not even sitting down. He died as he was going to speak to his Ram but Ram took him to himself even before he reached his place in the prayer gathering, and the wicked man who did him to death emptied three bullets into his body—one into

his belly and two into his chest—so that the pain was reduced to the minimum lasting only one moment. He made up for his lost five minutes by going straight away to his Ram. Why, therefore, should we grieve for him ?

There is plenty of reason for us to grieve for ourselves. Socrates died for his work and Christ died for his faith. We did not believe we could get any other example like that. “Conquer hate by love” said Mahatma Gandhi all these years and he was killed because he preached love. “Iswara is your name, Allah is your name. Oh, Bhagwan : grant good sense to all your people,” he prayed every day and therefore he was killed. He was killed because he preached that all faiths were one and all names were God. Let us not lament. Let us be proud and let us deserve him. He was a friend and lover of all the men and women he met. Indeed, he was like Krishna and Krishna died when a hunter’s arrow pierced and sucked his life away ; so also our Krishna has died. But let us not grieve for him and let us make up for our own faults. It is weakness to cry over our own difficulties. What we have to do is to deserve to have possessed, even for a brief time, the man that has passed away.

Friends, when men have to face trouble, when men have to grieve, they generally tend to give vent to their grief by anger against others. There are some people who go about saying that the Government of India has not done their duty in not being able to

protect our greatest possession. Our greatest possession has gone, no doubt. But is it right to fall foul of our leaders for that reason? It is easy to fish in troubled waters, it is difficult to be just and sensible.

All these eighty years, did the Government of India protect Mahatmaji? Have there not been scores of occasions when he was in the greatest danger during these 40 years in South Africa and India and did the Government of India protect his life? During the last few years, did not the greatest anger and highest passion develop like storm and did he not live and did the Government of India protect him? Is it not idiotic to blame the Government of India because God has taken him away? In recent times during our recent troubles, could not any one of numerous communities and groups have killed him in anger? Did he not still live? Was there not anger, great anger against Vallabhbhai Patel, against Jawaharlal Nehru and against many others amongst my colleagues? Was their protection a simple matter? Would it not have been vulgar if the Government of India had posted guards and detectives in private rooms and gardens? It would have made life impossible for Gandhiji. It is idle and mischievous to go about blaming the Government of India. Let us rather turn our eyes to God. Let us turn our eyes within and search our own hearts. Let us not waste time in senseless accusations.

His Excellency's Broadcast talk from the All-India Radio on the "Immersion Ceremony," on the 12th February, 1948.

So it is all over !

The world feels so empty ! Dreadfully empty !

The bird escaped at 5 p.m. on Friday, the 30th January. The body remained with us and the lingering smile on the face kept the illusion going for some time. But on Saturday, the 31st of January, on the banks of Jumna we consigned the body of our beloved leader to the flames in accordance with the wisdom of our ancestors. Then we scraped together all that was left behind. Devotion made us see Bapu in the ashes and the orphaned people fondly held on to the thought. But the solemn wisdom of our ancestors again called us to consign the ashes to the elements and turn our thoughts to God. So we have entrusted the ashes to Holy Ganga and prayed. And we are returning home with heavy hearts feeling a void all around. May our thoughts every day at the hour when Bapu fell turn to him, our beloved teacher, our Ajatasatru, our Satyadharmaparakramah who to countless millions was an unfailing physician, who removed fear and ever thought and sought to increase love.

May all men and women in India, every day at five in the evening recall the scene of assembled men and women waiting for Bapu to join them, recall the dear face and contemplate on what he wished and prayed for. Let us every day thus spend a couple of minutes

at that hour in the evening in silence and prayer for universal goodwill in India. Even our grief tends to find solace and shape in anger and violence. Eternal must be our vigilance against this original sin which poisons our natures. Suppression and State-coercion cannot be avoided in this imperfect world. But let us clearly and once for all realise that goodwill cannot be achieved except by goodwill. Evil cannot be overcome except in the way that our beloved leader taught. There is much war-like talk about peace and much belligerent demand for goodwill. But fire cannot be quenched by pouring oil on it. May we remember the wisdom of love which our departed leader has left us for an inheritance—his teaching and the memory of the life he lived.

Do not demand love. Love is never obtained that way. Begin to love and you will be loved. Increase your love and more love will be induced and will flow towards you. This is the law and no statute or logic can alter this. So he is gone. But if we do not follow the law as taught by him and let the law die with the teacher, we shall fall and we shall have become indeed accomplices to the murderer. But if we follow his law with all our heart, he is not dead. He will live in us and through us. Let us remember how our beloved leader every day sang and the crowd sang with him :

Ishwar Allah tere nam
Sabko sammati de Bhagwan.

May I take this opportunity to thank all those who worked so hard and enabled the immersion ceremony to be performed with due solemnity and in a befitting

way. I am grateful to the men and women who though numbering so many lakhs co-operated so admirably in maintaining order and solemnity. I thank those who kept the essential services and the buses and trams running in spite of the sacrifice involved which was great. They deserve the thanks of us all.

**Vayur anilam amrtamathedam
bhasmantam sariram
Om Krato smara krtam smara
Krato smara Krtam smara.**

His Excellency's Reply to the Addresses of Welcome presented by the Burdwan Municipality, the Burdwan District Board, the Coalfield Committee, Raniganj, and the Evacuees' Welfare Union, Burdwan, on the 14th February, 1948, at Burdwan.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am asking Jitendra Babu to render what I say into Bengali. He is an old friend of mine and so he has agreed to oblige me. When I came to this district I had expected to see an embankment in progress of construction. I thought that my work would be mostly conversation with engineering experts but I have found here all the local authorities combining to present their grievances before me. Without any address being presented to me, I could guess most of your difficulties and grievances. It is not difficult to know what we want in this country. The problem is how to get all things done and to get them done as quickly as possible. I shall place all your grievances before the Government that is in charge of this Province. In the old days the Governor had less knowledge but more power, whereas I have more knowledge but less power. The old Governor could be happy even though he did very little because he did not know the difficulties, but the new Governor who is not able to do much, knows, alas, too much and is therefore very unhappy. My superior knowledge only makes me more miserable.

All progress depends upon how we organise our resources. If we do not construct an embankment,

the great and beautiful Damodar will only serve to destroy our houses. But if we build a good reservoir and guide the water properly, then all the water adds to our wealth and happiness. In the same manner, our other resources must also properly be embanked so as to conduce to national good. If men and women are selfish and do not co-operate then our resources will go to waste. God does not intend to shower any benefits on us unless we work hard. Work, more work, organised work, intelligent work—this is what is needed in India now. It is no use looking back and telling one another what we did a long time ago or some years ago. We have to finish with the past and must look forward in front of us.

Freedom has come to us as a result of the past struggle and as a result of the world situation. There is no use repeating the word “freedom” if we do not work for the happiness of the country. Freedom has come on account of the struggle of our leaders and of our people, but it is of no use to us if we neglect the opportunity and do not work to make India more happy than she was before. The power of the Viceroy and the Governors is all gone. Hereafter unless the people unite and have a stable, intelligent, earnest, honest and democratic Government, the people cannot be happy. The history of our freedom will not give you happiness unless you have a good and honest Government today to manage your affairs. If you have such a Government, it is foolish to make it unstable. If you have a moving chairman no meeting can be held ; the chairman must sit in his chair and the people must obey him. If you have a Government every month, no plans can

be planned or executed. If a Government is stupid and dishonest, you must remove it. If a Government is intelligent and is loyal to you, you must not disturb it for some time. We are so poor in our country, the things to be done are so elementary that there will be no difference in policy as to what is to be done between one Government and another for a good long time to come. You want water, you want drains, you want quinine, you want roads. Can there be any difference regarding what is to be done between one Government and another on these questions ? Therefore, I tell you, if you are peasants, if you want water, build a reservoir and cut channels from that reservoir but do not change the reservoir by pulling down the embankment. If you have a good Government like a good reservoir, do not go about like rats making holes in the embankment. All human affairs follow the same natural laws and what applies to a reservoir applies to a Government. If we do not know the course of the water and the strength of the embankment, the embankment will break down. All Government is only an engineering feat of human affairs. I want you all to have good humour and to co-operate in work. If, when we are free to govern our own affairs in accordance with the wishes of our people, we do not utilise the opportunity in front of us and waste our time in quarrelling with one another, India will not be happy for having become free.

The finances of our Government in the Provinces, in the districts and in the municipalities require to be examined with a new and careful circumspection. It will not do for you to ask for the power of

expenditure without taking the responsibility for collecting the money required. It will not do for the Government to take all the money that can be got in the districts and not spend it there. I should very much like all those who are interested in district and municipal administration to combine together in a conference and have a permanent committee and examine every matter and give responsible advice to the Government.

Government is a difficult art, self-government is more difficult art. The British found the government of this country very hard but we who wish to govern the country ourselves and in accordance with the wishes of our people shall find it harder still. If people think that as the British Government is gone we can become more selfish and more dishonest than before, the work of Government will become supremely hard. In the old days when the British were governing the country people were disinclined to ask for personal favours. But now many people – a very large number of people – think that with democracy we have a licence for asking for personal favours from those in authority. There is a great deal of complaint that there is still red tape and bureaucracy. My complaint is that those who make this complaint really want personal favours. I tell you with all the earnestness at my command that democracy should not be understood to mean a licence for intrigue, personal favour and nepotism. There is nothing wrong with democracy. All the wrong that we find in it is due to selfishness and nepotism. Because we have now self-government, it

does not mean that all our old friends and acquaintances should gather round each leader and try to get as much favour as possible from him. I have myself worked and anxiously watched the progress of the struggle for democracy during these fifty years, and it would be a tragedy if at the end of it I see that democracy means nepotism and corruption. We must all realise at once that we have to be much more earnest and honest than we have hitherto been if we want happiness. Laziness is as much a crime as dishonesty. Every man, whether he is a labourer, a chaprasi, a supervisor, an inspector, a minister, a commissioner or a collector—must make up his mind to work hard. In Free India we cannot be lazy.

Friends, I am glad I have talked to you so frankly. Mahatmaji is gone. We want people to talk as severely and plainly as Mahatmaji used to do. We must fear God and nobody else. Let us remember our leader and not forget him. Remembering our leader does not mean raising ugly statues and preserving untrue photographs but it means remembering what he taught us. Can the photograph reproduce the honey of the man as he was ? We may hug the illusion that the picture is the man or the ashes is the man. But the man is gone. We have only the cage, the bird has flown. Mahatmaji did not believe in charm and magic and therefore you need not believe that possessing a bit of the ashes will relieve you from headache or save your son from dying. What he wanted was to preach the doctrine of love and the man who

killed him wanted to kill the doctrine of love. Even the man who killed him had no personal malice against him but he desired that the doctrine of love should not progress in this country. If after throwing away the ashes into the Ganga and other holy rivers in India we also forget the doctrine of love, we shall only help the murderer to achieve his object. We all desire to punish the murderer, but the only way to do so is to carry forward the doctrine of love even more strongly than before. How I wish that in India the doctrine of love has grown stronger than it was before 30th January 1948. Love is not difficult, my friends, love is easy. Hate is difficult. Hate is like going against gravitation. It is difficult. Let us give it up and particularly in Bengal where the doctrine of love was preached by great saints. Remember those saints. When the history of Mahatmaji is written down and of the India of his time, will it not be said that it was in Bengal towards the end of his life he attained his greatest success in working out the doctrine of love as a matter of fact and experience ? Although Mahatmaji died in Delhi and big memorials may be erected everywhere, take it from me that the greatest memorial of Mahatmaji is in Bengal and will ever remain in Bengal. The memorial is there. Do not destroy it or allow it to break down.

His Excellency's Speech at the Condolence Meeting of all the Sporting Associations of Calcutta at the Demise of Mahatma Gandhi at the I. T. F. Pavilion, Maidan, Outram Road, held on the 15th February, 1948.

Friends :

It is exceedingly appropriate that the sporting associations of Calcutta have joined together to share the general grief. It is difficult to express grief, it is also difficult to express appreciation when the work and the qualities of a man like Gandhiji have to be described. It is difficult and useless, you know the current conventional phrase, "to paint the lily or guild refined gold." I never understood the full meaning of this phrase until after this recent tragedy.

Gandhiji was not only a leader of men. He was a friend -- a personal friend -- of thousands upon thousands of men and women who were in distress or difficulty of any kind. The loss of a great leader leads to national grief but the death of Gandhiji is not national grief only, it is personal grief and personal misfortune to numerous men and women all over India. I do not think we can find any parallel to the grief that India now is suffering unless we go to the descriptions in the Ramayana when Sri Rama was sent away to the forest. We all knew that some day or other he must die like other people, and he tried his best to die very often. We generally get wise after the horse is stolen from the stable. That is man's customary wisdom. We knew he must die but we did not learn to dispense with his presence. However, often he gave notice that

he would leave us, we did not learn to get on without him. So, when he has been removed now, all of us feel confused. But the way he taught is very plain, straight and simple to understand. What was read just now from the Bible under the title of Charity is what Gandhiji was trying to teach under the title of Non-violence or Ahimsa. It may be called "Charity" as the authorised English version of the Bible calls it, it may be called Ahimsa or Prem or Love. It is all the same whatever name may be given to it. There is nothing new in religion. All religions teach the same thing. The marvel consists in a man actually living the life that is taught. We have been moved to the depths on account of that fact. Here was a man in flesh and blood moving about with us—living, eating, and sleeping with us—who lived the life which he taught people to live. That man is now gone. That voice is stilled which preached with the firmness and the courage characteristic of a man who saw truth himself and who practised that truth. Others now speaking that language speak falteringly and apologetically, looking around whether what they say pleased the people. Gandhiji's voice did not falter. That unflinching firm voice is not with us now. If anybody went wrong, he was there to correct him. If anybody was hasty, angry, conceited or arrogant, he was there to point out that defect to the man, be he high or low in position. The murderer took away the nation's most precious possession.

The essential thing that Gandhiji taught is that vengeance and anger serve no purpose. If we want

human progress, these things do not serve. The wise men through all the ages have taught that anger, vengeance, retaliation and violence serve no purpose in human progress. The way of love is the *only* way. For the time being, it may look wrong, it may look useless but ultimately the way of progress lies only along the path of love. This is what Gandhiji taught.

We are today in India confronted with a crisis. We are involved in entanglements and we are struggling against difficulties, which are very real, and in that struggle it is very essential that we should recognise the truth as Gandhiji taught. That is why it is such a tragedy that he was taken away when he was most wanted. The man who killed him belongs to a school of thought which did not think that India was being served well by this doctrine of love. He had no personal malice, anger or animosity against Gandhiji, but he made up his mind to kill Gandhiji with the object of killing the doctrine of love in India. The murderer took away the man from whom living strength was being derived for that doctrine. If we do not wake up now, if we still pursue the path of doubt, hesitation and self-conceit—if I may so call it—I say that we help the murderer in achieving his object. If we wish to frustrate the murderer's purpose, as all of us wish to do, we must follow the best way to frustrate his object and that is by working as best as we can in our own humble way to spread the doctrine of goodwill and to spread the truth that evil is not prevented by evil but can only be prevented by good. We must give up the doctrine of a tooth for a tooth and

an eye for an eye. If we wish to frustrate the murderer's purpose and wish Gandhiji really to triumph in death, we must practise, as far as we can, the way of life that he preached.

It is not necessary for a man to be a Mahatma to feel that all people are the same in India. If in one voice we say that we are not two nations and at the same time allow our feelings to run as if we were two different nations, then we are helping Mahatmaji's murderer.

People imagine that sport was not Gandhiji's field and that he was not much interested in games. I know him very intimately for about 30 years. Let me tell you that he knew the essential unity of all things, in fact his whole life was like one of your games. He fought the British as one of your clubs fight with another club in a match, without malice and with fairplay at every point. There was no untruth or subterfuge in Gandhiji's fights. There was no violence in them. The essential feature of a true sportsman is that he does not tell a lie when a point is raised. Truth and non-violence must necessarily prevail in sport. You have got that common ground between you and Gandhiji. We have lost a great sportsman.

The man of wisdom sees unity in diverse forms. Gandhiji saw beauty in diverse things. He saw the same truth in all religions. He took equal interest in all things, however serious or small they may be. He saw that truth was one and that the same principles govern life in all aspects.

We have all lost a man whom we cannot replace. We can only replace him by all combining together. If we all combine to do a little bit of what he taught in our daily life (not only in action but in thought also), then we shall frustrate his murderer. Try not to hate anyone but remember positively something good that the man did to you. If we practise things like this, we can frustrate the murderer's plans. Otherwise, our complications will be great and we will be in more and more troubles. And then the school to which the murderer belongs will be glad to say—"We've done it. The doctrine of love is gone for the present in india."

People naturally want to raise memorials. We have already a memorial, which is free India. Our independence must not be allowed to go into disrepair. Our prosperity must be bound up with the independence of India. There is now in India a great Memorial of Gandhiji and that is freedom. Let us keep it bright, let us keep it beautiful and not make it ugly with hatred and distrust. Other common memorials can only take a little of the glory of Gandhiji and shine in the reflection of that glory. If we think provincially, take it from me that peace in Bengal, next to the independence of India, is the best memorial and he built it in Bengal himself before he died. Do not let that memorial go into disrepair. By building up peace in Bengal before he was killed, he prepared his own memorial here as beautiful as the Taj Mahal during his life-time. That is the biggest memorial before you, and the task before us is the proper care and maintenance of it.

His Excellency's Speech at the Prize Distribution Ceremony of the Howrah Girls' School, Howrah, on the 19th February, 1948.

Sisters and Brothers :

When we see little girls gathered together, we see Bharat Mata. Bharat Mata, whom we worship, is a composition of the little girls we are bringing up. If you ill-treat a little girl, you ill-treat Bharat Mata. If you neglect your little girl, you neglect Bharat Mata. The prizes we give to girls are worship. It is not possible to give prizes to all the children in the school, it is only for that reason only a few prizes are given.

Girls, I want you all to be happy, to be cheerful in your department and to make good use of this school. Whenever possible, you should laugh. You should never cry. By laughing you will improve your beauty and your character. Do not depend upon powder and rouge, depend upon your own laughter. If you have a cheerful countenance and cultivate a good temperament and laugh whenever you can, you will grow beautiful—take this advice from me as an expert in the matter. Beauty is a function of the mind and not a body phenomenon.

Mahatmaji is dead but do not cry for him. Mahatmaji's body is dead. His soul is not dead. There is, therefore, no reason to cry. The soul has divided itself to enter into all our souls. If you keep the door of your mind open, he will enter. If you close the door, he cannot enter and he will be sad.

When he was alive, he was in his body and he could only speak to us through his mouth and we could hear him only through our ears. But now that his soul is free from his body, he is knocking at the door of the soul of every one of us. Please open the door and let him come in. And when you invite Mahatmaji to enter your own soul, you must keep your mind clean and bright, fit for the worthy guest. You must have joy in your mind and no fear. You must be brave and you must be good. Then Mahatmaji will live in us and we shall grow stronger than we were before.

There is no way to happiness, no way to civilisation unless we are good, truly good in the sense in which Gandhiji understood the word "good".

We all wish to erect memorials for Gandhiji in various forms such as images, naming of streets in villages and towns. But no such memorial will be large enough for our leader. The great memorial that he has left in India is freedom. Let us keep that memorial in good order. If we open the door of our minds to this great soul that is eager to live in our minds and allow it to live in us, then this memorial will remain in good order. Improvement of our character is the most fitting, though very difficult, form of memorial that we can build and we must build for him. To change one's temperament and attitude is a difficult thing to do but that is the only fitting memorial that we ought to offer to Gandhiji. The cheapest form of memorial is to use our legal authority and to change the name of one's house or of

one's street. It wants no money, no exertion. Little children, be happy and do not cry for Mahatmaji, but grow up into good women and that is what Gandhiji wanted.

When you grow to be as old as I am, remember that you lived when Gandhiji was alive and you will be able to say that you were lucky to be born during his life time. And you will be able to tell your own children the story of Gandhiji whom they will never have seen.

I hope this school will receive more and yet more public help. Wealthy men, charity is the best bank in which you can put your property. This is very ancient wisdom, but a very modern man like me repeats it to you. The girls will have to be taught many many more things than they are now taught. We want, therefore, plenty of ground and plenty of school room. All this means money and it is for this reason that I make this appeal. Mothers are gathered here, and I, therefore, take this opportunity to warn them not to go away with the impression that teachers can give all the education. Unless you, mothers, co-operate, nothing can be achieved.

Once again, let me tell the children, do not be sad, laugh whenever you can. And do not think that it is your duty to cry because Mahatmaji is dead. It is your duty to be good and to work hard.

His Excellency's Message recorded for the Film on Gandhiji produced by the Director of Publicity, Government of West Bengal, on the 21st February, 1948.

God in his inscrutable way has inflicted a great calamity on us. May be the universal grief in which it has plunged us will give all the people of India to whatever community they belong, the wisdom and the will to establish that love and that *Sanmati* which Gandhiji wanted should prevail among us.

We can raise many kinds of memorials, some involving great expense and exertion to commemorate Gandhiji's life but there is one form of memorial in which all people can participate and which will not outlast sincerity of participation. That is, a resolve to turn the mind on him every day about the time that he was removed from amidst us. A daily silent prayer at that moment offered by all the people of India would be a spacious token of our devotion and altogether a more beautiful and appropriate memorial than any stone or cement structure that we might raise in his name.

Whoever listens to this then, I would ask you at 5 p. m. every day wherever you may be, and whatever you may be doing, impose a two minutes' silence on yourself and say to yourself :

Ishwar Allah tere nam

Sabko sanmati de Bhagwan.

Gandhiji is with us though his body has joined the elements and whenever we pray thus he will join us in this prayer which was so dear to his heart. The rishis live in the mantras they have left us. So will Gandhiji live for ever in this mantra which he gave us.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Demonstration and Prize Distribution Ceremony of Vani Vidya Vithi held at the Kalika Theatre, Kalighat, on the 22nd February, 1948.

Music owes its origin to religion and still has its roots in religion. Music is, therefore, an essential element of culture and religion and is not just a sensual art. It is a necessary part of the education of both boys and girls. Training in melody and rhythm certainly helps in shaping character and behaviour better than reiterated precepts. Music as well as dancing furnish a most appropriate medium for expressing and cultivating piety and devotion. Parents should not grudge the cost of training their children in music and dancing.

I am grateful to the organisers for giving me the opportunity to be present on this delightful occasion. I wish the school all success.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Opening Ceremony
of the Howrah Homes, Santragachi, on the
22nd February, 1948.**

You have heard the history of this institution. During the terrible famine in 1943 when people suffered and died, the spectacular sight of misery moved certain people to start this institution. I congratulate those people on having got this institution raised up so quickly. Think of our own independence. Consider how long it took to bring about a free Government of India and see how much still remains to be done. It is not less difficult to build a home for the poor than it is to build a free Government of India. A small pair of children's shoes takes as much labour as a pair of soldiers' boots. The Government have to get the bulk of their money from the poor people. Therefore, when you demand money from the Government, you demand money from the poorest people.

In the old days it was easy for the Government then in power to collect money from all the people and to spend it in a few centres and on certain classes of people. But the Government that is now in charge cannot be content with such an arrangement. The benefits of civilized life have to be carried to all the villages in India. There are as many as 7½ lakhs villages in India, and each of them is in need of a home like this. The few homes of this kind that we may have in a small number of selected places must depend for their finances mainly on private charity.

In this mysterious world, prosperity is just an accident. If you possess money, remember that it is an accident, and that God will not permit the accident to continue for too long. You must therefore spend your money on good and worthy objects while you still have it. Money given in charity is money well spent. I want you all, therefore, to contribute liberally and to ask your friends to contribute liberally and to build up this Home into a nice, strong and useful institution for the poor, bearing in mind that nothing is permanent in this world except charity and good conduct.

His Excellency's Speech at the Ceylon Independence Day Celebrations held at the Mahabodhi Society of India, College Square, Calcutta, on the 24th February, 1948.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, Sisters and Brothers :

Not only the people of Ceylon but all the peoples of Asia nay of the whole world rejoice in the attainment of independence by Ceylon as a landmark in the progress of civilisation. India is particularly glad because though modern political history has artificially divided Ceylon from India, these barriers mean nothing, especially in the context of the ties by which India and Ceylon have been bound together for centuries. The ancient bond of Buddhism is a wonderful and sacred bond firing even dull minds with enthusiasm. All Asia is bound together by the message of the great Buddha who was given by India to the world. We rejoice in the fact that a son of India should have given a message which was accepted with reverence throughout Asia. We have a concrete visible demonstration of that bond in the part of the Bodhi tree of India which founds its root in Ceylon. As if these were not enough, we have in the recent tragedy of Mahatma Gandhi's death and the subsequent ceremonies a fresh bond of union. We have all read about the wonderful manner in which the relics of Mahatmaji were received by the people of Ceylon and consigned by them to the waters of Ceylon in piety and reverence.

All the petty jealousies of modern economic life which divide nation from nation must disappear at the

very mention of the names of Buddha, Asoka and Gandhi. Let us sink all our petty differences and act as one people bound together by our past history, culture and tradition ; and let those parts of Asia which are still struggling against the old colonial system learn how to remove the impediments which are prolonging their struggle for freedom. One impediment seems to be the fear of these colonial powers about properties held by their nationals. If that fear be removed, probably the pace of real political transfer would be hastened.

I thank all the distinguished ladies and gentlemen, especially the diplomatic representatives of the various nations, who have met on this memorable occasion to bless young Ceylon.

His Excellency's Broadcast from the All-India Radio, Calcutta, on the 27th February, 1948.

This is the fourth Friday after the great crime. The shock of the tragedy of Mahatmaji's death has stirred India to the depths. There is a universal desire that what he died for, namely, Hindu-Muslim amity should be established in India as the only worthy and satisfying memorial over his ashes. Hindu-Muslim amity is a short phrase compendiously denoting amity not only between Hindus and Muslims but among all the people professing different faiths in India, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and others. A great and truly spiritual reaction has been brought about in the minds of all classes of people irrespective of their previous views about political or cultural problems. If only the feeling of universal grief and reverence for the departed could take effective shape in thought, word and activity, death would make no difference and the triumph of Mahatmaji would be the greatest after he was struck down physically. If Mahatmaji's spirit could permeate all of us, why should we grieve? His body is gone, but his soul would be with us still.

But human weakness—our original sin is ever in pursuit to thwart all noble effort. Vigilance is necessary even at the moment when we are most certain of ourselves. Amity, goodwill, charity, love or whatever else one may call it, is what Gandhiji thirsted for and prayed for until the moment of his

death. Let us remember that this cannot be achieved by mere political readjustment or by the appearance or disappearance of certain organisations. Any amount of cleaning the outside of the platter cannot achieve the end nor can love, mutual respect and reverence for holy sentiment be compelled by order or intimidation. Distrust, bigotry and hatred can only be displaced by trust, charity and love in one's own heart. The initiative must ever be with the complainant. If therefore the slogans "Down with communalism," "War against communalism," or "Away with the demon of communalism," etc., mean that *other people's* organisations and their minority associations and such things should disappear under fear and compulsion, then indeed our last state will not be better than the first. "Down with the demon of communalism" no doubt but each one should say this of oneself and of one's own people and of what they should do, let it not be a demand for something that other people should do. Of that we have had enough of demand and counterdemand. The golden rule of reform, the essence of Gandhiji's life-work, is to think of one's own reform before seeking to reform others. Indeed, it would be very helpful if the phraseology of *constructive* goodwill be adopted rather than the language of military and destructive action. Non-violence cannot thrive on the jargon of violence. The headline writers in newspaper offices give martial slogans and banner-lines by habit even though the speeches and statements over which they are placed do not have such phrases.

“This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you.” This is what Jesus told his disciples when he knew the hour of his departure had arrived. The same must have been Gandhiji’s last thoughts at the moment of his departing. Let us not turn a deaf ear to his ceaseless appeal for love and goodwill, or continue to promise to the ear without true heart-change even when our dear leader has poured out his all into the fire.

His Excellency's Speech at the Bangiya Ayurveda Mahasammelan held at the Ashutosh Hall, Calcutta University, on the 28th February, 1948.

Truth is one. Every question arising out of ill-health like any other question about a physical fact, can only have one answer. Medical science is therefore one, being only a search for truth in regard to the health of man. In matters relating to the unknown which is wrapped in mystery and cannot be solved by the finite mind of man, completely different approaches and opinions are possible and permissible but not in those relating to physical truth. There can be denominations in religion but not in science.

Vested interests should not be allowed to mar the progress of science. There was a comparative stagnation of knowledge in medical science in India because the superior instruments of modern science were not available to the Indian physicians and because, unfortunately, secrecy governed many branches of knowledge in India including medicine, the results of experiments and observations became common property in the West and this made the progress of science easy. Introduce modern instruments of research and observation here and remove secrecy and you will have the same conditions here for progress as in the West.

Our civilisation is very old and no wonder therefore that our accumulated knowledge of drugs is enormous. But we must keep that large stock of

knowledge tidy and revised. Even a big city can go into bad condition if not looked after well. So also Ayurveda lore.

The main thing to guard against is quackery. Quackery, a disservice and treason in any sphere, is due not so much to ignorance as to greed. Quackery is bad whoever may practise it. It is therefore in the interest of Ayurveda that you should ask for due regulation of practitioners in Ayurveda. Side by side with the elimination of quackery and the regulation of Ayurvedic practitioners, research work must be taken in hand as also collecting, collating, sifting and bringing up to date the body of knowledge we have inherited from our forefathers.

I am sure that the Central Government and the Government of West Bengal with an eminent doctor at its head will give every legitimate assistance for scientific research in Ayurveda as in other matters.

His Excellency's Reply to the Welcome Addresses presented by the Hooghly-Chinsurah Municipality, Hooghly District Board, Hooghly-Chinsurah Town Congress Committee, Harijan Bidyamandir and Chinsurah Rate-Payers' Association at Chinsurah, on the 5th March, 1948.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am very grateful to you for all the sweet things you have said about me personally. I shall place all that you have told me before the Government and I am sure they will deal with them justly and quickly. We have to depend hereafter not upon Governors but upon Government and upon the representatives elected by the people from time to time. If you elect the right type of men, they will do the right type of administration for you. If you elect the wrong type of men for reasons other than wisdom, then you would get the type of Government you deserve.

The taxation system of a country decides how people receive their amenities. It is possible to put a small tax, direct or indirect, upon 40 crores of people and get a few good cities in very good condition, leaving the rest of the country unattended to. But this arrangement cannot hereafter stand. It is very urgently necessary in free India that the entire system of expenditure should be overhauled. There is nothing gained by keeping one room in a house in perfect condition and leaving the rest of the

house in bad condition, because infectious diseases do not care for divisions of administration. The financial system will therefore have to be reorganised so as to serve the needs of the entire province and not merely particular parts of it or particular sections of the population.

It gave me great pleasure to see the members of the District Board declaring with confidence that the District Board here is doing very well and that there are no cliques or divisions among the members. If we are not united and if we do not act with our consciences directed towards public good but only seek individual advantage and promotion, then the government of the country will go to pieces. Everybody knows that India has attained a new status. But what everybody should also realize is that each citizen has attained a new status and new responsibility. Every part of the machine must now begin to function properly and every one of us should become cent. per cent. honest. I consider that I shall have performed my duty as the Governor of the Province if I continually lay stress on the fact that everyone should become cent. per cent. honest. The great man who is no more with us wanted that all people should be truthful and love one another. If we are truthful and if we love one another, if all of us act as if Mahatmaji was still alive and watching us, all will be well with us.

His Excellency's Speech at the Musical Soiree organised by the Gandhi Mission for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund at Uttara Cinema on the 7th March, 1948.

I am glad the organisers of this gathering have decided to propagate Gandhiji's teachings through song and music. Death works the most surprising legerdemain in this world. He who was so active but yesterday has disappeared into the *Nowhere* today. It is difficult to realise that Gandhiji is gone. A great and beautiful flower was born in our land. That flower is now gone. We have burnt it and thrown the ashes into the Ganga but though the flower is gone never to come back, we have the attar. The truth and the love that Gandhiji taught and wanted us to follow is the attar that we can keep for ever, if we strive. Shall we throw the attar also into the Ganga along with the flower? No, let us keep it. It will save us from sin and grief and pain. Let us treasure Gandhiji's principles in our hearts. The way he taught is the way to joy. It is worthwhile to live in this world full of misery because in this world we can have the joy of human affection. Let us discard hatred, which is pain, and let us always strive to love.

His Excellency's Speech at the Afternoon Party
given by the Bengal National Chamber of
Commerce at the Calcutta Club, on the 16th
March, 1948.

Mr. Sen and Gentlemen :

It is very kind of the Chamber to have asked me to accept this hospitality and kindness. I must confess that it does give me very great pleasure to be among friends. You have been, Sir, pleased to refer to my being available to all people on terms of familiarity and intimacy and you seem to consider it a good thing. I do not know how long it will continue to be a good thing. This world of ours moves generally backwards and forwards. It is only after we have got through a lot of pain we begin to enjoy pleasure. It is only because of previous Governors having kept you at a great distance that you enjoy my company so much. It could not have given you any pleasure had not my predecessors taken the trouble of keeping you at a great distance. Your gratitude should, therefore, be expressed to those who preceded me. This is not a mere joke. It is a philosophical truth. The world is so arranged. You can have north only if there is south. If you wish to derive special pleasure from accessibility, now and then difficult Governors must come. Let us not complain, therefore, when we meet with difficulties. In business, too, it is only if you are in trouble now and then, you can afterwards enjoy prosperity. The same thing applies to communal peace. We could not have derived such great pleasure from the simple negative fact of living together in

peace had we not gone through riots in Calcutta. Those who had no such interruption cannot have the joy which Calcutta is enjoying. You are congratulating yourselves on the fine atmosphere prevailing in Bengal on the whole. But I must tell you that I am not satisfied with external peace unless you have in your minds the love that Gandhiji wants. He wants your hearts to develop love towards one another. Have we got that? If on examination we do not find affection then I would say it is an unstable arrangement. If we want stable joy and social well-being we want real affection in the heart. I want you all, therefore, to work for developing that good-will, positive good-will and trust which will make the peace of Calcutta and Bengal a stable fact. You have promised whole-hearted co-operation in this matter. You want a scheme or plan. Human affection is not built as engineers build houses. Gandhiji has given us the formula. If you develop good-will and affection in your mind there will be affection in the other's mind. I fear I do not see yet that complete acceptance of the doctrine which I want. If we really wish Calcutta to enjoy peace and facility for trade and commerce, it would be a great asset if we develop mutual good-will. You may have capital and labour but you cannot produce wealth unless there is also peace. Economists take it for granted that Government would maintain peace but in India in the present state of affairs Government cannot maintain peace unless people develop and maintain good-will among communities. All the Chambers of Commerce, new or old, British as well as

Indian, Marwari and Muslim Chambers, all have a stake, a very great stake, in peace and good-will in Bengal and in India. If there is disturbance in one province it infects other provinces. All the Chambers of Commerce all over India are interested in developing the doctrine and practice which Mahatmaji preached. We cannot have any meeting without referring to Mahatmaji. Now we must realise the fact that Mahatmaji is no more. What Gandhiji taught centred round this principle that if one party developed good-will in his own heart, it would automatically induce good-will in the other party. This is as much a scientific truth as any law of electricity and magnetism. If a patient is ill it would do no good to get the prescription by heart or even print in attractive form many copies of it and distribute them. Nor would it be any good even if the medicine is procured and the bottle devoutly worshipped morning and evening. The drug has to be swallowed if the patient is to be cured. We have to deal with Gandhiji's teachings in the same manner. It is not enough if printers and artists are employed for doing more propaganda. We have to begin honestly developing good-will. Truth and love are the two things Gandhiji preached and he had done utmost propaganda for the doctrine. What is wanted now is practice.

Text of Speech by His Excellency the Chancellor of the Calcutta University, on the occasion of the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University, on the 20th March, 1948.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Munshi, Graduates of the University, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I tender my warm congratulations to all the recipients of degrees, especially those who were awarded prizes and medals. I congratulate you all on having heard a brilliant address from our honoured guest and have great pleasure in tendering my own and the University's grateful thanks to him. I am glad that the University has secured for a further period of two years the energetic stewardship of Sri P. N. Banerjee as Vice-Chancellor.

Young friends, after two addresses packed with advice and words of encouragement, I feel there is no need for a third speech to be inflicted by me on you. A Chancellor's speech is, however, the established rule in the Convocations of the Calcutta University and I dare not introduce an innovation even by way of omission.

Well, Convocation addresses have become so formal and stale that they cannot be of much consequence in shaping the actual lives of the graduates to whom they are addressed by convention. Indeed it would be true to admit that no speech whatsoever, however good and full of convincing argument it may be, has at any time any great effect

on the conduct of those to whom it is addressed. This may seem to be too cynical a statement. But I believe firmly that it is not speeches or sayings but only example that inspires and infects, for good or evil. Every nation has inherited excellent proverbs and maxims and didactic literature. Yet it may be admitted that these maxims have had little effect on men. Example and personality stand, however, on a different footing. The undoubted influence of Ramakrishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda and Gandhiji is entirely due to the lives of these great men rather than to their undoubtedly wise sayings and great speeches and writings. A book admired, a speech listened to with reverence affects one momentarily, but it is only the moral and spiritual forces generated by the lives of great men lived purposefully and without blemish that change the conduct of men and women. In every age are born men who can thus influence others and it is this that sustains the progress of the world. But it would not be right to wait for the appearance of great men. All enlightened and educated men and women must take up the function of showing how to think, how to speak and how to live to the rest of our people and continually act as guardians of culture and right conduct.

Leadership of this kind is service in the best sense of the word. It is a necessity of national uplift and cultural progress that you, graduates, should set an example, each one of you, in your own lives to those illiterate and uneducated people among whom you will live and who are bound to look up to you as leaders of

culture and conduct. It is well we understand the fundamental realities of things which by too much familiarity often hide their true import and meaning. University education is not just the good fortune of a lucky few. That some few men must be continually trained for leadership is an essential part of any scheme of civilised life which ensures order and progress. In some form or other among all civilised peoples and in all ages this was and is being done. Higher education is thus not an accomplishment or a personal advantage for obtaining which you should be grateful, but it is a definite acceptance of an obligation of service by way of active leadership.

Do not depend upon propaganda to improve conditions around you but depend more upon the effect of your own daily life. Propaganda has its utility up to a point but it tends soon to become something with which we deceive ourselves and carries us no further. The main thing to attend to at the present moment in our country is to establish uprightness of conduct between man and man so that the burden of our national Government may be reduced to the minimum. Every individual having become a real shareholder in this great joint stock company that we call Free India, he should contribute his best to the joint concern. Cent-per-cent honesty in all work, which dispenses with the need for supervision or inspection, a spirit of industriousness which places all talent and resources and time fully at the disposal of the community, and an equal regard for every kind of work that goes to contribute to the welfare of the community, whatever

may be the kind of intellectual or physical labour it involves,—these constitute the substance of patriotic endeavour in Free India. The external struggle for freedom is over. Our effort must hereafter be directed towards maintaining moral and civic standards in daily life. You have, each one of you, in your sphere a capital opportunity that will occur on a hundred occasions for setting the right example and avoiding a wrong lead. The most serious offence against the State that one can commit in Free India without realising it is idleness. Slack work is treason in the present state of our affairs. And all work is equally worthy, nothing small or menial. It is all superior. What is unpleasant but necessary and carried out loyally, though disagreeable, is the noblest service to the State and is superior service whatever be its conventional classification.

Be tolerant of other's failings. I am saying this to each one of you as real practical advice and not laying down again an old copy-book maxim. Charity in judgement is a civic policy of the highest practical value. Always lay down for yourselves a more exacting standard than what you would for others. The purpose of all true education is so to conduct yourself in your daily tasks as to contribute to the common good. The education that you have received has been given to you because it is expected that you will automatically become an enlightened servant of the community, tolerant, broad-minded and avoiding the errors of passion and prejudice and doing always the right thing not afraid of losing popularity. Every

time you find yourself tempted to stray from the path of truth and love, remember Gandhiji, the man who was so eager to guide us and who was so full of wisdom and love and who was snatched away from us so cruelly seven weeks ago. May the blood that flowed from Gandhiji's wounds and the tears that flowed from the eyes of the women of India everywhere when they learnt of his death serve to lay the curse of 1947, and may the grisly tragedy of that year sleep in history and not colour present passions. Shall we hope that in 1950 or thereabouts we shall be able to say truthfully that all of us are more honest and less selfish in Free India than before, that the rice crop has been more abundant than in the days of the British, that the number of acres under cultivation is greater, that there is less crime and that the behaviour of men and women in India is superior to what it is in places not blessed by Indian culture? Then indeed we can claim that we have built a worthy monument for Gandhiji. This can and must be built by you to whom the future belongs. With integrity of mind and purpose and the will to do, nothing is impossible. The work begins from to-day. There is to be no waiting for orders or plans.

May God bless you.

His Excellency's Speech on the Occasion of the Presentation of a Purse by Sri K. N. Dalal to Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta for Noakhali Relief Work at Government House, Council Chamber, on the 21st March, 1948.

On behalf of Satish Babu and on behalf of the people for whom this purse is intended I thank the anonymous donors for their generous gift. The purse is a good memorial for Gandhiji though it may not be called so. Mahatmaji's great achievement at Noakhali marked the climax of his non-violent efforts. The whole world knows about what happened at Noakhali and there is no need to repeat the horrid details of the crimes that were committed there. Human memory is a double-edged weapon. It is a good thing, it is also a dangerous thing. If we go on remembering past wicked deeds, we should only be intensifying human unhappiness beyond tolerance-limit. We must learn to forget. Putting it in commercial language, the account on both sides has been squared. When Sri Dalal asked Mahatmaji at Delhi to come to Noakhali, Mahatmaji's reply was "I am working here for Noakhali." His meaning was that his experiment in conquering hatred by love at Delhi would serve to further the doctrine at Noakhali. It is the same doctrine applied in relation to different communities. What Mahatmaji lived for and died for is the doctrine that love conquers and hate brings misfortune and pain. If we follow Mahatmaji, the union of the two Bengals will come about, as so many of you wish, without your knowing it.

His Excellency's Speech at the Social Function organised by the Dawoodi Bohra Merchants' Association at the Dalhousie Square Institute, Calcutta, on the 27th March, 1948.

After thanking the organisers of the Dawoodi Bohra Merchants' Association's function, His Excellency referred to the grief expressed by the High Priest and the President of the organisation over Mahatmaji's death and said that it was in the people's power to keep Mahatmaji alive if they wanted to. By remembering him in the true sense, viz., remembering his spirit, his life, his activities and by following his advice we could keep his memory alive. Referring to the Association, His Excellency said that it was wrong to think that communal organisations were always bad. Each group and community had certain virtues and it was all to the good if by forming separate associations those virtues were conserved. What was wrong and undesirable was that such bodies should devote their energy in spreading the doctrine of separatism and hatred. His Excellency went on to say that he was very pleased that an Association of merchants was still under the active guidance of religion and did not think religion irrelevant to the commercial world. It was possible, he said, for trade and commerce to serve society provided God was kept in their mind and trade and commerce conducted in the presence of God unforgotten. India from time immemorial welcomed people of diverse faiths and because in the olden days religion was more intensely believed than now, they did not quarrel with one another. Religion was a

reality with people unlike in the present day. They did not, therefore, waste their energies quarrelling with one another. We could even now, being the inheritors of that tradition of tolerance and active good-will, revive those virtues of tolerance and love and substitute for hatred, suspicion and distrust positive good-will and active love. Negative peace, His Excellency said, was not enough. We should do more. We should actively each one of us try to understand one another, abstain from daily analysis and emphasis of wrongs done and set examples in our own lives of love and good-will. If we did so, we should find that in ten years, time the two Bengals would unite without our knowing it. Geography, language, culture and manners, trading interests and commercial and family interests all helped to drive the two Bengals to become one again. If only we refrained from critical analysis of each other's failings and concentrated on such virtues as we still possessed all natural forces which were in favour of the union of the two Bengals would have a chance.

His Excellency's Speech at the Opening of the resuscitated Hindi High School at 1/1/B, Lower Circular Road, on the 28th March, 1948.

You see I am talking in English. This is both an apology and a warning to boys. If boys do not care to learn the *rashtrabhasha* when it is easy for them to learn, they will like me grow too old to learn it afterwards. I hope that Hindustani will be taken up not only by the boys of this institution whose mother tongue is Hindustani, but also by those whose mother tongue is not Hindustani. In Bengal the primary medium of instruction must be Bengali but in cities like Calcutta there are also quite a good number of people whose only possible medium could be Hindustani. For such people, schools working through the medium of Hindustani are absolutely necessary. Children must receive education through their respective mother tongues. In fact, child education must be a family affair whereby character is formed and culture shaped and wherein the greatest amount of personal attention is necessary. But as our families today are not capable of taking charge of the education of their own children, co-operation is necessary among families to run schools of this nature which may look like communal institutions. They are necessary in such cities as Calcutta. This being a Hindustani school, it incidentally serves the purpose of popularising the national language of the country.

Mr. Birla was kind enough to refer to the interest I took in Hindustani as the national language. People sometimes argue about it. The adoption of Hindustani as our national language does not imply that it is superior to other languages. Hindustani has been selected as the national language because it is spoken by most people in most places. I have noticed a strong tendency on the part of those whose mother tongue is Hindustani to push its claims for attention with a kind of arrogance. It is not a wise attitude. Consideration for others is necessary in all matters. I lay stress on this because it is very effective propaganda for the national language in Calcutta and elsewhere. We should remember that those whose mother tongue is Hindustani get an adventitious advantage. They should, therefore, show great consideration when approaching those whose mother tongue is not Hindustani. Not only must you be careful but you should also bear the burden to some extent in the beginning. Ever since I came to Calcutta I have been pressing the millionaires here to meet the entire cost of the Hindustani teachers to be employed in every school in Calcutta. Pay for a few years, then it will carry on by itself.

His Excellency's Speech at the Foundation Day Dinner of the Aligarh University Old Boys' Association at the Great Eastern Hotel, on the 28th March, 1948.

Today is the fiftieth anniversary of the great founder of the Aligarh University, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Sir Syed Ahmad belonged to a generation to whom modern education was as important as religion. He felt that the salvation of the people was bound up with education on modern lines. This wisdom of the 19th century still holds good. I want you to have faith in education and progress, I want you to add strength to that faith by realising that there is no contradiction between religion and the education for which your university and other universities stand.

It was seventy odd years ago that your university was started with eleven students and seven teachers. Today its strength has increased a hundred times. The seed sown in the proper field has borne good fruit. Today in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founder of the institution, let us think of him with affection and invoke his spirit so that it may be gladdened.

Seven teachers and eleven students with which the Aligarh College started is perhaps the right proportion of teachers and students. There must be personal association between students and teachers, without which no real education can be had but it is not possible now to have seven teachers for eleven

students. Now, therefore, more discipline, more self-restraint and greater concentration and devotion to one's studies on the part of the students has become necessary. The responsibility of the students is greater when the number of teachers is proportionately less.

From the very beginning, students of different denominations of Hindus, Muslims and Parsis were admitted into the Aligarh University. It was intended to be a liberal institution. Nothing else was possible in the great days of the nineteenth century. Education will have little value if you do not have that background of tradition and culture behind it which we call religion. We could do without religion in our schools and give only secular education if our boys and girls could have religion in home life. But especially among the educated Hindus, the home does not now furnish that religious background which is necessary for the right up-bringing of boys and girls. A factious spirit has taken the place of and simulates the religious background among the lettered people. Family worship is not maintained in educated families. If we have no religious background in the home or in school or college, the younger generation will have no real cultural background. You cannot make people religious except by example but we can retain something of the religious background in the school. Hindu boys should read *Ramayan*, *Mahabharat*, *Gita* and other religious books, and similarly, Muslims and Christians should read their religious books. We ought to maintain the religious background in

our educational institutions but it must be a free background.

The beauty of one's own religion can be perceived most when one studies with sympathy and care other religions. The study of the scriptures and the way of life of other people will enable one to follow one's own religion all the better. Islam need not be a subject of study in Aligarh for Muslim boys alone, but Hindu students also might with advantage study it and broaden their cultural outlook.

During recent times there has been indiscipline in Aligarh which consequently earned the disapprobation of many. It was perhaps a natural phenomenon. It was a great pleasure, however, to read the reports of the grand reception accorded to Pandit Nehru during his recent visit there. Let us now bury the past and look at the future. If it is shaped in the way the students of Aligarh received Pandit Nehru, I believe all our hopes will be fulfilled. Every university should have a little bit of Aligarh, a little bit of Benares, and a good bit of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. Then only can this great country be served well.

Most of the Aligarh old boys have left Calcutta. Let us not be down-hearted. There are many forces of nature which will help us in maintaining the cultural unity of Bengal. The two Governments of Bengal understand one another and the people too understand one another. Nature greatly helps us. Let us not exaggerate things.

**I hope the old boys of Aligarh will play their part
In the mission of goodwill. Let me have your
assurance that so far as Aligarh old boys in Calcutta
are concerned, they will always be my allies.**

His Excellency's Speech at the 12th Anniversary and Prize Distribution Ceremony of the Jitendra Narayan Ray Infant and Nursery School at the Calcutta University Institute, on the 2nd April, 1948.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It gives me very great pleasure to participate in this joy of yours. It is a great joy to have 4 or 5 children but it is a very much greater joy to have 500 children. I had as father only 5 children to bring up. I am, therefore, very jealous of Mrinmayie Devi who has 500 children. My children had a very indifferent father but these 500 children have a very good mother. The founding of this school is an extraordinary story. The school has done very good and useful work but the story of the school is even more splendid than its work. The founder-lady lost her husband and lost her only child but her loss is like that of a farmer who loses his seed when he plants it. The seed grows into a tree ; the original seed is lost but hundreds of fruits with seed grow from it. This school was the direct result of the child that was lost and the grief that was suffered. The story of Mrinmayie Devi's work is an inspiring romance even as the story of Dhruva that was now enacted by the children before you inspired generation after generation of our folk.

It is not only high schools and colleges that will have to be looked after by us. Nursery schools are more important. Character is formed before we reach the age of four or five. We have, therefore, to be very

careful with our children at that age. The formation of character depends upon the parents, but as parents in our country are not able to look after their own children well, nursery schools are necessary. You will observe that children are very eager to attend nursery schools if they are well conducted. In Western countries people have greatly advanced in respect of nursery schools. There is a great deal to be done in this country.

I do not very much like giving prizes to little children. It is not possible to give prizes to every one. Those who do not get prizes will be sad. I hope one day we shall abolish the system of prize giving. Affection should be distributed to all the children instead of prizes to some. I am very glad to learn that in the lowest class all the children got prizes.

I appeal to parents in Calcutta and Bengal to encourage and support this nursery school and all nursery schools. Just as Mrinmayie Devi multiplied her only son into 500 boys, I want this nursery school of hers to multiply into 500 schools of this kind. In every street there ought to be a nursery school to serve the children of that street.

I congratulate the lady-founder and give her my best wishes. I thank all the people who help her in this work.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Conference of the All-India Food Preservers' Association at the Great Eastern Hotel held on the 3rd April, 1948.

After thanking the organisers of the conference His Excellency said that in spite of the warning given by Mr. Bose he would have to say what Mr. Bose had asked him not to say, namely, that the subject in which they were so much interested was the responsibility of the Central Government and not a provincial subject. Indeed, as Governor he could not directly deal with provincial subjects but must leave them to his ministers. Apart from these disqualifications, His Excellency stated amidst laughter that there was the real difficulty of his complete ignorance of the subject.

His Excellency said that he often heard contradictory voices in conferences. It seemed to him that they all wanted freedom of trade and industry and at the same time wanted Government to regulate production and distribution in all industries but their own. That seemed to him to be an unreasonable attitude. He advised that those who were interested in industries should meet separately as well as together and consider matters from all points of view and give definite considered advice to Government which it would then be difficult for Government to reject. His Excellency observed that while it was necessary to foster the rapid industrialisation of the country in all branches they would all agree that certain industries which were key industries, namely, those which were at the

bottom and supported all other industries, would have to be attended to first and developed, if they wanted all-round prosperity. If Government paid more attention to key industries for the time being, they should hold themselves in patience. The only general advice His Excellency said he could give to the conference was that they should meet and discuss in a practical way and consider their difficulties along with the relative difficulties of other industries. Then only would the Association be able to come to practical conclusions with reference to the industry it represented. One-sided pleading of grievances would not do. They should have to work both as advocates and as judges.

The fruit-preservation industry, His Excellency went on to say, was very important because it would help to save what would otherwise be loss of so much food and to build up an export trade with neighbouring countries. His Excellency concluded by wishing the conference all success.

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Indian Association at the St. Xavier's College on the 4th April, 1948.

"The leaders who are now in charge of the Government of this country are wise, tolerant and broad-minded, keenly alive to the rights of the minorities. Do not, therefore, have any fears about the future of your community in India. In the minds of the members of the majority community there may be prejudice against you for some time. As your President has indicated in his speech, past historical associations cannot be wiped out all at once. The best way of removing them is for your community first to forget about them, to behave as though they did not exist and to mix freely with the rest of the population. And if you do so with confidence, the prejudice will wear out. The traditional kindness of the Indian people is a guarantee on which you may rely," observed His Excellency in his address before the Anglo-Indian Association this morning.

After referring to the smallness of their community and the high percentage of literacy and employment among Anglo-Indians, His Excellency said that he regarded it as a hopeful sign of the times that communal organisations in India tended to become concerned less and less with politics and more and more with social, cultural and economic problems. In India they had today built up a synthesis of Indian

and British culture and the Anglo-Indian community need not feel lonely. In a sense all modernised Indians were Anglo-Indians. His Excellency advised the members of the community to learn the language of the people of the area in which they lived and worked. Language was a most potent force for bringing people together and building harmonious relationships. To be able to speak the regional language was also useful in securing employment of any kind. His Excellency felt certain that with a growing spirit of charity and good understanding and through inter-marriages, of which he was a firm advocate, all the different elements in their national life would become one. He appealed to the members of the community to join the Association in larger numbers.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Centenary
Celebration and Prize Distribution Ceremony
of Uttarpara Government High School held
on the 10th April, 1948.**

Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am very glad to be with you all this morning. I greatly appreciated the way in which the boys carried themselves when receiving prizes. May all schools in Bengal teach such good manners and deportment. The salutes of the boys, beautiful in their various styles, are nevertheless a little confusing. One day we must have a committee to settle upon a uniform style of saluting.

I am a little alarmed at the wonderful eloquence of the children who recited—alarmed because in a democracy these little ones, if they go on like this, can perform terrible tricks with the people. Eloquence is good but too much is bad. It is necessary that we should first clarify our thoughts and then find precise and clear expression for them. Recitation exercises should, in my view, be minimised. Otherwise children might get into the habit of eloquence without getting into the habit of previous thinking. It would be a good thing if headmasters of schools could institute a system under which boys are trained to narrate orally in the class room events so that they may get into the habit of precise and clear expression. With the attainment of independence, our language must be precise,

efficient, brief and appealing to all classes of people. Language, so to say, has attained responsibility.

This hundred-years-old school is a monument of understanding, wisdom and patience. At the time it was started, doubts were expressed as to whether western education would succeed in India. There were others too who felt that the people of India would become disloyal as a result of English education. But Macaulay, who won, stands now vindicated. This Uttarpara institution was founded by great and generous men and I hope it will grow from success to success. The life stories of the founders and early workers of this school are inspiring romances for the youth of Bengal. I thank the boys for their spontaneous collections for the Gandhi Memorial Fund. The purse they have made out of their pocket money is a precious contribution.

**His Excellency's Speech on the Occasion of the
Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Gandhi
Memorial at Gandhi Ghat on the 18th April,
1948.**

I do hope that our love and veneration for Gandhiji may not degenerate into a craving for building up a new Church round the name. What is needed is a courageous resolve to practise the doctrine of love which Gandhiji taught. He demonstrated that this very old teaching is a practical way of life suitable for decent men and women even in modern times. The tragedy is that we put it aside as impracticable or inapplicable just where it is the only applicable and practicable way of curing the trouble. What Gandhiji sought to do was to teach as well as to demonstrate that the ancient rule is good enough for modern times also and that in fact there is no alternative to it.

Let us avoid as dangerous the tendency to make a great philosopher of Gandhiji. He did not at any time desire to be a philosopher or a scholar. He was a man of action. He sought eagerly to guide ordinary men in their daily lives. Let us not make any new complicated doctrine out of his teachings or any rival scholastic philosophy or seek to build peculiar modes of life adding one more denomination to the many already prevailing in India. Let us be simple and loving people, forgiving and forgetting wrongs wherever possible. It is only that way we can do something which Mahatmaji wanted. The good he taught will

then live in our lives. Mahatmaji will live in us if we care to let a little of his spirit enter into each one of our lives. We can in that way frustrate the folly of the murderer who killed him.

Let us hope that the *mandap* at Gandhi Ghat will soon be completed. I shall consider it a test and a trial of Bengal engineers' talents. Here I hope there will be a place with sacred associations where men of all creeds may join in earnest prayer, helped by the memory of one who desired it so greatly and the ashes of whose cremated body were consigned to the waters at this spot. Hereafter this village and this area will be known as Gandhi Ghat.

His Excellency's Speech at the 105th Birthday Anniversary Celebrations of Girish Chandra Ghose, at the Srirangam Theatre, on the 28th April, 1948.

Girish Chandra Ghose whose 105th birthday anniversary celebrations it is my privilege to be associated with grew, like Shakespeare, to his natural greatness as a playwright, poet and actor having been saved from the effects of contemporary educational instruction by being plucked in the Entrance Examination. Girish Chandra having escaped thus what may be called the carpenter's treatment of dead timber grew like a living plant in continuous contact with the emotions and feelings of people around him which form the roots of all creative art. Last Purnima day they celebrated the Shakespeare festival in England at Stratford-on-Avon where representatives of forty nations including India and Pakistan assembled and they unfurled their national flags simultaneously there marking the world's homage to the great dramatist. But the British people do not stop there. Shakespeare festivals are held annually but his works are also read and their spirit absorbed by men and women. Let us honour the memory of Girish Chandra in that way. Let us nurse and strengthen the stage in Bengal for which he worked.

The cinema threatens to supplant the theatre. I am old-fashioned enough to prefer the theatre to the cinema. The cinema is related to the theatre very much as sleight-of-hand is related to industry.

Legerdemain gives the thrill of a score of things being brought out of the empty hat but industry alone can produce articles for actual consumption. Preserve poetry and drama and the theatre. If we ponder deeply, we see at once that all that is most precious in our culture and civilisation is the work of our poets of Valmiki and Vyasa and Kalidas. Girish Chandra was in a sense also one of the founders of Indian national patriotism and it is my belief that if his plays of Siraj-ud-dulla and Mir Kasim could be put on board now and again, they would produce great good in both Bengals.

A word to contemporary dramatists and poets. Do not complain that men come forward to honour writers after they die, and give little encouragement to living authors. Time acts as a filter. The classics are respected because they have been tested by the assay department of time. Writers should not lose patience with the contemporary public. Good writers will not go unappreciated.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Artistry House,
on the occasion of the opening of the
Exhibition of Miss Yuu Yun Shan's Chinese
Paintings, on the 30th April, 1948.**

India's achievement in the past in the matter of developing cultural and religious interchange with China and other foreign countries was truly a miracle. To-day with all our progress and modern facilities, we find it difficult to find properly qualified men for being sent as representatives for fostering mutual confidence, not to speak of taking a philosophy or religion to get other nations to accept. India and China were intended by Providence to be friends and we have always been friends. We have been giving one another our best. We have never exchanged shots, but we have always exchanged wisdom and joy.

It is really remarkable how much our ancient forefathers were able to achieve and how little we have been able to achieve now. Representatives of India in those days were able to go to China and Tibet, when there were no such facilities as those we enjoy now, and attracted the confidence of the people of those countries. They gave not only information about India but preached Indian philosophy and religion. But today the Government of India are finding it pretty difficult to find a suitable diplomatic representative to go to China or Tibet who knows enough of the language and manners of these countries, and who can impart confidence and receive confidence.

The Chinese people had displayed a genius for continuity. They held on to their tradition which kept the tree of culture alive. That was why China had been able to withstand so much trouble and behaved in the wonderful way that people of other countries were witnessing. On the other hand His Excellency regretted that in manners, poetry, art and tradition Indians were too easily induced to adopt new ways, "to sell our mother and buy a step-mother."

**His Excellency's Speech at the Maharaja Manindra
Chandra Nandi College Prize Distribution
Ceremony, held on the 30th April, 1948.**

Dr. Neogy, Maharaja Sahib, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I need hardly tell you it gives me very great pleasure to be present at this function. Youngmen and women, you are crowded in a small space but I can see that you are not only enthusiastic but you have done very well in your examinations beating the University average by a long distance. You are patient and suffering as we should in these days be. All the inconveniences that your Principal has set out in his address have been borne by you and you have done well. The building has honoured association with the name of the great Maharaja who donated such large sums for charities and who extracted compliments from a very hard beggar like Mahatma Gandhi. It is your duty, boys and girls, to conduct yourselves in such a manner as to bring honour to that name.

Your Principal has referred to a number of topics in regard to educational matters and your difficulties. I am sure that the authorities of the University will bestow the attention that the opinion of an experienced educationist like your Principal deserves. Your Principal has also referred to many matters wherein the Government and the University should come to the assistance of this College. I hope that the authorities, who are in charge of finding finances for all such assistance, will see what they can do for you quickly because a rupee given in time is worth two rupees given after great delay.

I might tell you, as I have on numerous occasions of this kind, that if I had been an old-time Governor I could have promised you concrete financial assistance on the spot. But times have changed now, and under the present democratic form of Government, a Governor cannot distribute money without the concurrence of his Ministry. He can distribute any other form of favour but not money. Money is specially within the exclusive jurisdiction of democracy. In England as well as in other democratic countries the most jealous watch which democracy keeps is on money. Students of colleges know this. Your Principal has, therefore, modified his demands in order to suit the present conditions and says that I should use my good offices with the Ministers. I have no doubt that Government will try to meet your demands as best as they can.

Part of your capital expenditure has come from the charity of the Maharaja. The rest, you say, will have to come hereafter from the Government and what does that mean ? The Government will have to collect from some other sources and then distribute it to you. What are these "other sources"? It is for you to examine. Obviously, Government will have to realise the money by taxation. I am not pleading for stinginess. I am only giving you a small wayside lecture on the constitutional position. Your Principal has expressed some apprehension with regard to what is called higher education. Let me tell you that the present Government is not likely to make a mistake regarding higher education. There are some Governments and some politicians who look upon higher

education with distrust and more like step-mothers than mothers. Primary education, they think, is their natural child which must be looked after with great care. That is not always right. Higher education is necessary for culture and civilisation. But you should not be impatient. You should not as soon as a request is negived rush to violent criticism.

Our Government of India on taking over, planned to undertake many projects of advancement and progress, but they have been confronted with a number of intricate and difficult problems for which they were not at all prepared. They are in the course of crossing these hurdles now. It is our duty to support this Government of ours, whether in the Province or in the Centre, with great patience and consideration. Rest assured that when the time comes and when they have settled down, they will do their utmost to meet the demands of our people. It is your own Government you have installed them in office, and you should feel towards them as a mother feels towards her child. Our national Government is carrying on bravely and in spite of all difficulties. With hopes shattered and their dreams still unrealised, this Government is tackling grave problems. I tell you once again, no one deserves greater sympathy than those who are in charge of our affairs now. We must extend to them all the sympathy and patience and strength we can muster.

I understand that your College which started eight years ago with about 100 students has on its rolls now about 1,500 students, among whom there are quite a good number of girl students. The majority of the

girls prefer to go through tuition in the morning separately, either because they are nervous or because they have no confidence in the boys. I myself am not particularly keen on co-education. Co-education in our country is merely a result of congestion in educational institutions. We have not enough money to run colleges separately for girls and boys. Co-education distracts attention and you cannot get over biology which confuses our frail nature. Nevertheless, co-education has, in present circumstances, become a necessity. Boys, you must therefore make co-education "easy," which entirely depends on your good behaviour and conduct towards your fellow girl students.

Thank you all very much for the patience with which you have listened to me. I very much hope that in the near future the college will be housed in a more commodious building with spacious playgrounds.

You should not seek easy passes and cheap degrees through pressure and agitation. You should do nothing to lower the value of the degrees you obtain. That would be the consequence of lowering University standards of tuition or examination. You all know what inflation means. You should not cheapen University degrees. You should bear with the hard standards imposed for them alone what you acquire will be prized by the world.

His Excellency's Speech at the Campbell Medical School on the 1st May, 1948.

Friends, I am grateful to you for your warm words of welcome and I thank you for taking me round the wards of your hospital. In the Campbell Hospital, with its large variety of infectious cases you have a great opportunity and a wide field for study. I am glad that your institution is going to be a college soon, and I am sure that it would be a First Class College with its excellent clinical advantages, equipment and staff. The Campbell Hospital is a very old institution with much tradition. The opportunity you have here of dealing with infectious diseases is a very precious one, and even to those who do not actually participate in the treatment of such diseases. Their very proximity is a great opportunity. There could of course be no question of fear of infection standing between you and your work. Watch how a trainer of wild beasts in a circus treated his lions, tigers and other wild animals. You should take all necessary precautions before and after, in order that the infection might not spread to you and so that your power of service to society might not be affected. You should not, however, take such precautions in too obvious a manner. It is only the brave that can join the medical profession. With the opportunities you have in an institution like the Campbell Hospital you must plunge into the work, offering to help and to learn. You are a very high-spirited body of young men and women who should take pride in taking risks. You

have no longer the opportunities to show such courage in politics, but you have a great field for it in the Medical Profession. The days of martyrdom are not yet over, for the role of the martyr is not confined to politics alone. Approaching your work in that spirit, you will find great joy in it. I ask the medical students of this province to display in the field of medical service the courage intrepidity and spirit of adventure the young men and women of Bengal have shown in politics. Infectious germs could not be frightened into submission by propaganda. Newspapers might write tons and tons of columns against Cholera and Plague, but unless they actually got down to do the things necessary to fight such diseases they would achieve little. It is a matter of great credit to the Campbell Hospital that in the present outbreak of Plague they have been able to cure a remarkably large percentage of cases. This is a great record which would doubtless go into history.

About 300,000 persons had been inoculated against Plague recently in the city. It is a very grand achievement. But you could not that way really reach the population that needed most protection. The only way is to see that the rats have no chance. Rats, however, cannot be exterminated easily. Even if we killed all rats in the city but accidentally left one lucky couple to escape, they could in one year produce one thousand direct descendants. This menace of rats can be met only by denying them food. We should have rat-proof floors and rat-proof habits. This had saved many areas of India from Plague. We have been told that the Bengal rat is

immune from Plague, and that the present outbreak of Plague, has been probably caused by rats coming from other areas. We cannot, however, take it that the immunity of the Bengal rat is guaranteed.

We are living in a free India, and are more or less in the position of a newly-married couple. They have to set up their house. Much work lies ahead of us, our leaders and our Government. We must not add to the difficulties of our Government. We must show great patience and give the Government the chance to carry out their work.

In Law or Engineering and other such professions men could do everything, leaving aside the women. But in the medical sphere it is impossible for us to do our duty by society unless we have also an adequate number of Women Doctors and Surgeons. It is, therefore, essential in the medical profession that facilities should be provided to train an adequate number of women.

With regard to the status of the so-called lower grade of men in the medical profession, may I say that much more is learned from actual experience than from academic training? The sense of reality and complete assimilation of knowledge comes with actual experience. Knowledge acquired by hearing and reading is of an inferior type compared to that acquired by actual practice and direct experience. Those who have acquired experience, though in the lower ranks, have often greater knowledge than the young men who have gone through a higher academic course. The real problem, however, is what

should be the stage of general education at which a student should turn over to a specialised professional course? If a student failed in the Entrance Examination or the Intermediate Examination and was yet admitted to the medical course, it would not be possible to impart to him the same knowledge and equipment as could be imparted to well-grounded students. I, therefore, hope that no attempt would be made by popular leaders to reduce the standard of general equipment necessary before students are admitted to a medical or other professional training.

His Excellency's Speech on the Occasion of the Labour Home Trust Deed Presentation Ceremony organised by the Calcutta Stevedores' Association on the 3rd May, 1948.

It gives me very great pleasure to participate in this unique function.

I do not think stevedores are capitalists at all. The real problem today is how men can be made to labour cheerfully, properly and efficiently in a rapidly industrialised context. In the old days when industrialisation had not set in, a labourer felt joy in the making of the articles that he made. A carpenter chiselling a window-frame saw the whole thing and felt joy in the making of the window-frame. Likewise, the potter at his wheel. As a boy I watched a carpenter shaping simple rafters for a cottage and was a little puzzled to see him wasting time smoothening and shaping and rounding off. I remember asking the carpenter why he took so much trouble about unessentials. The carpenter's reply was "No, sir, it must be done; otherwise it won't look nice." There was thus joy in labour in the non-industrialised scheme of life. Now, in the present era men have to work without the opportunity of feeling the joy that comes of being able to identify one's products as one's own. The modern labourer spends his life making only a great number of particular parts. His work is uninteresting, monotonous and wearisome. Slavery is abolished and yet this wearisome and joyless work must be got done. It is in this context that the power of managing men, of

being able to make men do their cheerless task cheerfully and efficiently, becomes important. Management of free men has to be paid for. The system of paid overall managers has not been very successful in our country yet. Management of machines is quite possible. What I refer to is management of men. You must pay for such management something different from wages. Men will not do dull, monotonous, uninteresting dock-labour, unless you are kind to them and create cheerful conditions for them. I have no doubt, therefore, that stevedores do very well in trying to provide the dock labourers with decent houses to live in and amenities of civilised life.

May I now give you a word of advice as to how the scheme should be given effect to? You may take advice from engineers as to how to build houses in a durable and economical way, what materials to use and so on but you must have the houses so built that any one living in any of them treat it as a home. Do not build room upon room, cage upon cage, making pigeon-holes for the labourers. The houses that you build should be more or less after the pattern of rural homes in our country. Get hold of a spacious area, may-be, at some distance, organise transport facilities and build separate homes for each labourer with a small garden where he can raise some vegetables and keep a goat or a couple of hens. Thereby you will create the conditions required for cheerfully doing work which other people are not willing to do. I wish you Godspeed in your adventure.

His Excellency's Joint Reply to the Addresses of Welcome presented by the Jalpaiguri Municipality, the Jalpaiguri District Board, the District Congress Committee, the Dooars Planters' Association and the Indian Tea Planters' Association Jalpaiguri, on the 7th May, 1948.

I wish to give you a few words of advice before I deal with the addresses which have been presented to me. The gathering has been very orderly and very respectful and I thank you for it. Nevertheless at the beginning a little confusion was caused by the people from behind surging forward to occupy vacant space in front. When an arrangement has been made by the organisers, somebody in the crowd should not suddenly take it upon himself to re-arrange everything. If re-arrangement is undertaken without previous preparation and thought, the only result will be disorder. If you find vacant space in front of you and you think that it is being wasted and go forward to occupy it, you will find that the people will stand up in disorder and most of you will again be inconvenienced by a few who stand in front of you. We are very critical until we are tested : we are critical of those who have made the arrangements and we want to alter it and get into the front-line, but once we get into the front-line we forget all those who are behind us. If those who are in front keep standing how can those who are behind see anything? The little boys and the

weaklings are left behind and the sturdy ones succeed in pushing themselves forward. Those who are in front should not forget the convenience of those who are left behind.

You know that in the old days the Governor had a great deal of authority and he could do and undo things. But things are now different. The administration is now to be carried on by your own representatives and not by the Governor. You have a right to demand that your representatives should hear your grievances and these representatives have the right to demand that the Ministers should attend to these grievances. The Ministers have to compare and weigh the relative importance of the requirements and demands of all parts of the country and they have to utilize the resources to the best possible advantage to meet the most important demands. Whenever there is a change in the scheme of things, people will have to change their outlook. Management by outsiders was very different from management by our own representatives. Our criticisms now should be different from the criticisms that used to be levelled against outside authority.

I have listened with close attention and interest to the various problems of this District to which you have invited my attention in the course of the addresses. Most of these problems are familiar to Government and they will consider them with care and sympathy.

The installation of a telephone system, the establishment of an air-link between Jalpaiguri

and the rest of the Province and the other points in connection with communication to which reference has been made are all matters which rest with the Central Government and although the order of priority for such schemes will naturally have to be settled on an all-India basis, I am sure that the Government of West Bengal will press the relative importance of these matters on the Central Government and expedite matters. The decisions of the Inter-Dominion Conference recently held in Calcutta and which were ratified in Delhi will, I hope, remove all legitimate causes of annoyance and harassment to travellers across the border. Regarding the improvement of Customs arrangements also, recommendations have been sent up to the Government of India for measures which will go a long way towards removing the inconvenience which is now felt. You have pointed out the urgent necessity for improving the existing roads and for constructing new roads and bridges in various parts of the district. The Government of West Bengal is fully alive to the importance of these measures. The road to Siliguri has already been taken on hand. Steps are also being taken to link up Jalpaiguri with the south-western part of the Province. The plan is to get a highway across from here through Bihar, Murshidabad and Burdwan. The construction of a bridge across the Kalchini river on the Alipur-Falakata Road is under the active consideration of your Government. Some of the roads and bridges mentioned in the addresses have also been included in the programme which may start soon though

it may not start this year. You have referred to the danger which threatens the town as a result of the erosion of the river. I am glad to say that a scheme for the protection of the town has just been sanctioned and work is going to be started immediately. Plans have been drawn up for the protection of the Civil Station in Alipur Duars from erosion by the Kalchini river. But I may tell you that all plans for improvement are held up on account of the inelasticity of the resources of District Boards. District Boards as well as Municipalities suffer from an inelastic system of finance. I am trying my best to impress on all whom I meet that the only solution for the congestion in Calcutta and the decadence of towns outside the Great Metropolis is a reorganization of our whole financial system. Unless we resolve on spending money and improving the amenities of civic life in the towns of Bengal scattered throughout the Province we cannot remove the congestion of Calcutta. It is only if we improve the sanitation of towns outside Calcutta and give them all the joy that Calcutta enjoys in the way of education, hospitals, cinemas, theatres, parks and the like, then only the people will choose to live in the country and not crowd into Calcutta. The matter is engaging the earnest consideration of Government and a Committee is being set up to go into the question. The suggestions put forward by the Municipal Commissioners regarding the levy of octroi duty and tax on cycle rickshaws will be carefully considered by that Committee and necessary legislation passed.

There are some other important matters in your addresses. If I do not refer to them here, it is not because I do not consider them important but because of the time-limit that I have to follow. But I can assure you that all the points referred to in the addresses will be brought to the notice of Government and I shall ask them to look into them carefully. I am again reminding you that it is in the hands of your Government and not in the hands of your Governor ; but this does not mean that the Governor is a useless functionary. I may tell you what I have said elsewhere. Think of our great temples. In the temple there is an idol which is worshipped but the idol cannot do anything for you unless the people in the temple act. But if the idol is removed from the temple then nobody in the temple does anything. The temple has become useless and no work will be done. Though the idol has no life, it is important. In the same manner the Governor in the temple of Government is important though he has no active part in the administration. The utility and the importance of the idol depends on the devotion that you show towards it. If you all pay respect and devotion to the Governor he will have the capacity to do something for you. If you neglect the Governor, he will gradually dwindle into unimportance. I am speaking to you freely all this because I am not going to be your Governor for much more time. But somebody will come to you as Governor. You will have to give your devotion, respect and attention to him so that he may serve you. The Government is composed of your

representatives. But if there is no Governor the Government will be like a temple without an idol. Your majority votes constitute the Government and Government is in the circumstances bound to attend to the demands of the majority. The Governor is a symbol of the entire State and not merely of the majority. Ministers once in office should look after the whole State. Democratic Governments, though they represent the whole State, are apt sometimes to forget the minorities. It is necessary that at all times possible the Government should remind themselves that they represent the whole State and not only the majority. The Municipal Commissioners are elected by a majority of votes but after they are elected and appointed they should look after all rate-payers and not only those who have cast their votes in their favour. They should not neglect the provision of amenities for the people who did not vote for them. Those who have voted should not go and press the Municipal Commissioners for favourable treatment. This is the Dharma Shastra relating to Freedom which we have to follow in practice. A vote is only a token of confidence and not a bargain for favours to be acquired afterwards. After you have cast your vote, you must forget all about it. It should be the pride of those who have voted for a person to get him to work for those who have not voted for him. All this can be preached to the people but who can teach them other than the members of the Congress which is our great national organisation? I appeal to those who have come here to present me with the address of welcome on

behalf of the Congress Committee to carry these teachings to the people. They are not to think that these are sufficiently known already. They should go on repeating these important principles.

In this world there is no profit without some loss and no loss without some profit. By reason of the partition of the Province, there is a great deal of loss. But there is also some profit. You could not get a Government for Bengal in which the Hindus form a majority except by partition of Bengal. If you look at the "loss-side" only you would feel that the partition was a great loss. But suppose you had no partition, you must always have the courage to accept a Government run by a Muslim majority for the whole of Bengal. You would complain or criticise or praise if you look at one side of the picture but if you look at both sides of it you will maintain silence and accept the present conditions. As you all know, I am likely to go away from Bengal very soon and I appeal to you to remember my advice that the more silence we maintain the happier we will be. Once upon a time we did not quarrel with one another though we were Hindus and Muslims. Certain events however have now created the feeling that a Hindu and a Muslim are different kinds of men. In spite of all this believe me that soon we will realise that Hindus and Muslims are made of the same flesh and blood and we need not quarrel with one another. What we want are roads, hospitals, schools, cinemas, parks, music and dance and play, all this is common for both Hindus and Muslims. I want to tell you

before I go away from Bengal, that in a few years' time there will be no enmity between Hindus and Muslims of Bengal.

Children sometimes quarrel about their toys : in the same manner we have quarrelled about our Governments. This quarrel has been settled by partition. In Dacca the Muslims feel that Muslims are governing without interference by Hindus : in Calcutta the Hindus feel that they are governing without interference by Muslims. But the people will be happy only if each Government governs well. But if each Government is giving attention only to the other Government without looking properly after its own people, both will be unhappy. The people of this part of Bengal require many things that the other part of Bengal is producing. Similarly, people of that part of Bengal want many of the things produced on this side of Bengal. It is only when trade and commerce are free and easy that either Bengal can be happy. The efforts of the Governments of India as well as of Bengal are being directed towards free and easy trade and commerce among all parts of India. The life of the people as a whole is governed by the same principles as the life of an ordinary family. It is only if there is affection that the people can be happy. If people live in fear they cannot be happy. Develop mutual confidence : do not develop mutual fear and distrust. Everything depends on practice. Every morning when you get up, say to yourself that you will trust the people around you. If you find that somebody has cheated you or has done you some harm, blame me if you like :

but carry on the practice. Continue to trust the people that come to you : if they deceive you, blame Mahatmaji, but continue to trust the people, and ultimately you will all be happy. By all means get a road which passes through Bihar, Murshidabad and Burdwan and get your Government to construct it; but I would ask you to go bravely along the routes which pass through Pakistan. You will find that the shorter route is the better route. You have read a lot about smuggling in the newspapers. But who are these smugglers ? They are our own people. It is the manufacturers on our own side of the border who are trying to dispose of goods at a higher price than that prevailing on this side. The disease is not in others but in ourselves. Government will look after Customs but I would ask you to look after the creation and preservation of confidence. The police are there to look after crimes. The ordinary citizens should cultivate hospitality and mutual goodwill and good behaviour.

The partition is only an administrative arrangement. Governments may be divided but trade and commerce is one and indivisible. The Government of America is divided from that of England yet there is greater friendship between the peoples of Britain and America than between some peoples of the same part of the world. In the old days there were 50 or more States in India. But the people were one and indivisible.

There has been great trouble recently but I feel sure that there will be no such trouble again. We have seen much disgrace and shame. Our people

will not do such things again. The division of Government may be there but the people will soon become one all over India and will be a great people in the world. Whatever may happen in other parts of India, you may rest assured that in Bengal the people will be one and be happy. I want you to keep this clear in your mind. There may be two Governments but society will be one. Be brave and do not be afraid of anybody. Be of good behaviour and do not be rude to anybody. It is only by love and affection that one can understand another human being. If you do not have goodwill the personality of the other man will be a sealed book to you. The poets and seers of Bengal taught all this which I am trying to tell you in very indifferent words. Be truthful and good, and you will be happy. There is no other way to happiness.

I am very glad that I could spend some time with you before I leave this Province. Ever since I came to Bengal I have found so much affection showered upon me that I wished I could retire into private life after my term of office in Bengal. The sweetness of sugarcane increases as one goes from the top towards the root. Bengal has been like the sweetest part of a sugarcane to me and that is why I wanted to retire from here. But nothing in this world is in one's own hands. My friends and colleagues want me to go to the other end of the sugarcane. But if all of you, good men and women, pray for me, Delhi may be as sweet as Bengal.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Public Meeting
held at Kalimpong Mela Ground, on the 14th
May, 1948.**

Friends :

It gives me very great pleasure to be amongst you today. As was stated in the address of welcome, this is a peculiarly beautiful corner of India. I thank you for the address that has been read out both in English and Hindustani and for the sentiments expressed therein.

Nothing beautiful can be accomplished without undergoing difficulty. Where several cultures meet difficulties have to be faced in the immediate present because ultimately a very beautiful result has to be produced. Different cultures meeting together create a certain amount of conflict, but once that conflict is faced and overcome, the result will be more beautiful than if we had only one culture. It is only when different colours combine that a woven cloth becomes beautiful. It is easy to weave cloth of one colour and it is more difficult to bring yarn of different colours together into correct pattern, but the latter when finished is more beautiful. So in course of time Kalimpong will become a more beautiful place than other less fortunate places in India. Bengal, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet and perhaps China also all will meet together in Kalimpong and are meeting even now. Later on all these will combine and become as beautiful as a woven carpet.

Nothing can be produced without going through a great deal of trouble. We have attained independence in India after a great deal of struggle. While

the trouble lasted there was a lot of misunderstanding. Now that independence has been achieved, every one can and must share in it as a matter of right. Those who struggled and sacrificed for independence did so for the sake of the entire people of India and not for themselves. If those who struggled for independence and made sacrifices had told the people that they were doing it for themselves only and not for others, Mahatmaji would never have led them. If those who made sacrifices for independence now claim special rights for themselves, I say, it would be wrong. Whatever they did, it was intended for the benefit of all people. They were like the cooks in a kitchen who cooked not for themselves but for the whole family. Supposing the cooks in a house said after the dishes were ready, "We have cooked, we have sat near the fire, we must eat the food ourselves and nobody must come in"—it would be absurd. Mahatmaji was the Head Cook and the other cooks had promised the Head Cook that the dishes will be given to the entire family. Therefore, friends, now that the dishes are ready, that is, now that independence has been got, we must now serve the dishes to all the people ; we must see that independence is enjoyed by everybody. But if we quarrel with one another, how can we eat together ? In order that we may sit down and have our feast—a precious feast—prepared after a lot of trouble, we must not quarrel with one another. Unless we accomplish this task of all of us becoming friends to one another, independence will be of no use to us. The British who were controlling and ruling were for some time saying, "Unless you all come together we shall not

go." That was what they were saying before. If they had stuck to their posts and waited till all of us came together, then we would have achieved general friendship as well as independence together, but they were in a hurry to go, whatever the reason may be, and they left even before we all came together. They have done well and done justly by going away without waiting for us to unite, but we would be doing a big folly if we do not gain by it and come together quickly. Therefore, friends in Kalimpong, all the communities here must look upon one another as of one family, whatever their language may be and whatever their places of origin may be. If the simple people of Kalimpong come together and become one body of people, they will have set an example to the whole of India. I do hope that you will carry out this plan and set an example to the whole of India. You are living on the sacred breast of the Himalayas. In Hindustan there is nothing so precious, so sacred as the Himalayas. All our wealth and all the wealth that come out of the rivers in India originate from the Himalayas. Just think of it for a moment : all the rice produced in Bengal is produced with the help of the rivers of Bengal and those rivers all come from the Himalayas. All the rice and cotton that is produced in Sind and the Punjab are produced out of the waters flowing from the Himalayas. You are the children of such a sacred mountain. Do not imagine that because you are the children of the *Pahar*, you are inferior to the lazy people of the plains. You belong to the mountain and therefore you are the favourite children of Gauri, of Parvati. Therefore look upon yourselves as superior : do not

look upon yourselves as inferior to anybody else in the world. Do not copy the vices of the people of the plains. You might copy their virtues, if they have any. Be cheerful as you have been all the centuries. I come from the plains and I see cheerfulness shining in the face of every man, woman and child who belongs to the hills. God has made you in that mould of cheerfulness. Maintain it and do not give way to any melancholy. You have simple habits, do not give them up and adopt complications and troubles which will lead you only to misery. May the people of the plains copy your simplicity ! You should not copy their complexity. If the people in the plains wish to become wise, they must come to the hills and do *Tapasya*, and when they come to the hills and see your simplicity of life, thought and action, they will copy you and become wise by adopting your simple mode of life. You are able to carry three times the weight on your back which the people on the plains carry with much difficulty. Do not think that it is more civilised to become weak. Keep strong, maintain your bodily strength and continue in the same way carrying loads which other people cannot carry. When you send your children to the schools, do not allow them to cultivate habits of physical laziness. Make them do work as you are doing yourselves. Maintain your simplicity, physical strength and health. By all means get educated, but do not believe that education comes only through books. Very little comes through books and slates. Education comes through doing work. By all means get to read and write and do arithmetic, but you should also maintain the ability to do all kinds of work.

Your complaint that you have not enough schools will be reported by me to the Government and I have no doubt that they will do all they can to improve your educational facilities. You are rather at one end of the Bengal Government's territory. Unless they give you all kinds of facilities, your grievances will grow. Government will, therefore, be wise in attending to your grievances promptly. But you are no doubt aware of the difficulties of Government now. They have just taken up the load of independence and they have numerous problems and difficulties to face. Therefore, you will have to be a little patient. They are in the condition of a man who has just taken up his house for repairs : everything is in disorder, in some places the roof is gone. You will have to wait till things are put in order. The greatest co-operation that you can give to them is to maintain peace in your place and to be patient till they have settled all the very great difficulties they have to tackle at once. If you and others, who are in your position, do this that I have said, that is, if you maintain peace and have patience, I promise to you that the Government of India, the leaders of India, our Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues will make your place and all the other places in the Himalayas as beautiful and prosperous as any other place in the world. You must give them some time which is the only thing that is now necessary.

You have also referred to the difficulties of communication which must and will be attended to quickly. I may assure you that under foreign control

we could have been neglectful of these things, but when we are independent we cannot neglect communications. You may rest assured that the leaders of free India will give first place to the improvement of all means of communication like the one you have referred to.

I wish you all good luck as well as wisdom to enjoy good luck. You have a beautiful place, do not make it ugly by carelessness. Nature is bounteous to you. Rains will clean up whatever ugliness you make, yet we should not try the patience of Nature too much. I appeal to the rich people who come here from distant places not to make this place also ugly by building in too congested a style. If we build houses here as people built in Calcutta, Madras, Nagpur and other big towns, Kalimpong will become as ugly as any other place in the world. Let us build small cottages rather than tall houses too near to one another.

I give my blessings to all the children gathered here. May you grow not only to see independent India, as we have seen, but independent, happy and prosperous India which we older people have not yet seen. We, the older people, want you to enjoy a prosperous and happy India. For that you must be good boys and girls. There is no other way to prosperity or happiness.

Thank you very much for listening to a rather long speech from me. I thank all those who have arranged this beautiful function to welcome me and took so much trouble on my behalf.

His Excellency's Speech at the Public Meeting organised by the Hillmen's Association, Darjeeling, held at the Market Square, Darjeeling, on the 16th May, 1948.

Mr. Sinha, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am very very grateful to you for the beautiful reception you have organised for me. The rain has made the gathering even more beautiful in a way. The weather has tested your affection for me and you have fully demonstrated it. Your affection for me is so strong that you do not seem to mind even your little children getting wet—dangerously wet. I know that you are very hardy in your constitution and that you are quite used to rain and to getting wet, but still I do not want any child to get a chill on my account.

The flag-drill of the boys and girls was very beautiful. I am sorry the rain compelled me to ask that it should be closed early and sent off. I wish I were producer in a cinema company. Then I would have used this beautiful gathering for a very good picture. I would have utilised the film in order to educate people all over the country how to behave at a public meeting in spite of rain. You hill people are a splendid people. All-India would have appreciated it if they could see this gathering in a picture. But I am sorry I am not a film producer and I have to hold this picture only on the screen of my memory. Let me assure you that I shall never forget this scene. This picture will always remain in my memory : it will not be burnt by fire

or spilt by water. You may rest assured, people of the Himalayas, that you will be looked after well by the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal. The hill people, whether in Darjeeling or in Kalimpong or anywhere on the Himalayas, are like the gold in the mines. The gold may be covered by dust but it is invaluable gold. You may rest assured that you are as precious as gold to the State of India. Let us be patient for a time until India settles down and builds up her prosperity. You will have a large share in it. You are a part of West Bengal and there are many problems to be solved. You may rest assured that the Government of West Bengal and the Government of India will be fully alive and very attentive to your particular wants. What a single man like me can do, I shall always do for you.

Thank you very much for your wonderful reception. I must close the proceedings quickly because I do not like that you should stand this bad weather for too long. What I have said at Kalimpong the other day and you will read in the newspapers presently—you may take to be my advice to you also. I advised the hill people at Kalimpong not to give up their simplicity and their habits of hard work. You should imitate the virtues of the plains people ; do not copy their vices. You are the children of the Himalayas, the source of all the wealth to the people of India. All the rivers that help the wheat and rice to grow in India issue out of the Himalayas. The Government of India will be proud to look after the children of the Himalayas as well as they can. Be confident, be proud and I wish you all prosperity.

His Excellency's Speech at the Reception given by the Darjeeling Bengali Association at the Nripendra Narayan Hindu Public Hall, Darjeeling, held on the 23rd May, 1948.

Friends :

I greatly appreciate the welcome and I thank you for all the trouble taken. You all know very well that I am very sorry to go away from Bengal. All my innocent friends are exhilarated at what may be called my promotion. When I was young I saw the joy of young men who were promoted from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50. All my dear friends feel something like that on my behalf now when in truth I have been asked to take on my shoulders three charcoal bags instead of one. I am old and I have seen the reality of things. These offices have no pleasure-value either for oneself or for others. I have amused myself analysing the joy of my friends. I have analysed their exhilaration and have come to a conclusion which is entirely creditable to my British predecessors. The British Governors-General had accumulated power and prestige and awe round this office, and I am in the after-smoke of that previous tradition. Even after the fire goes out smoke fills the room. The present "Moha" about my Governor-Generalship is like the smoke left behind by the fire of the British Governors-General. When we are independent and when we have our own Government, somebody or other among us must fill every office from the highest to the lowest. There should, therefore, be no surprise when some one

among our friends or relatives becomes a peon or a scavenger or Governor-General. What we must learn in independence is this, that the office of a scavenger is as noble as that of the Governor-General provided both serve the people. Suppose a boat is out in the waters after a shipwreck. Some one among the crew in the boat must be Captain and the rest must respect his orders. Our State is somewhat in that condition. One of us must take the Captain's place and the rest need not present an address to him.

I am not detracting from your kindness but I want people to realise how things stand. In the old days respect was associated with fear, and therefore, was disagreeable. Hereafter, we must learn to respect people with affection and without any fear.

I am very sorry to go away from Bengal. But when one is called upon to share the troubles of one's colleagues, one cannot refuse. Independence of a nation so large and composed of so many elements, as we are, is not an easy job. Even without taking Pakistan into account, how many troubles have started between one Province and another ! All the difficulties which had been, so to say, submerged in foreign domination are now free and roaming about and buzzing round our ears. Each Province now thinks of food and clothing and territory in its own terms, and even in the same Province district differs from district in outlook. Liberty is not an easy thing. We must learn how to bear the burden of liberty before we can enjoy liberty. Every one wants to become a leader now and feels that the smaller the circle round him, the easier it is for him

to become a leader. Therefore, we seem to discover greater and greater importance in the interests of narrower and narrower circles. Leadership may be easier the narrower the circle of the following. But patriotic leadership must be based upon a broad outlook and not upon narrow groupings. I tell you on behalf of my colleagues without claiming any credit for myself, that those who are now in charge of the fortunes and the administration of India deserve the fullest confidence and loyalty. No others can hold all communities together, all Provinces together as they do. I want you to give them the power and the opportunity for a few years so that they may build up India once again. Ever since they took up office, instead of finding themselves in an ocean of milk they have found themselves in an ocean of trouble. Some of their difficulties have surpassed in magnitude and quality the difficulties which any statesman in the world had to face till now, and yet they have stood them well and we should be proud of our leaders.

Friends, let me once again tell you that I am sorry to go away from Bengal. It is not I who have become the Governor-General but it is Bengal that has received the honour. Why have I been chosen to go to Delhi? It is because of my work in Bengal, and whose was the credit? The credit belongs to the people of Bengal. It is the culture and tradition of Bengal that conquered the evil forces that were attempting to overwhelm the people. It is the culture of Bengal that overcame the difficulties that we had to face. That same culture of goodwill and

understanding should now prevail in Delhi if India is to be happy. To you, the people of Bengal, belongs the Governor-Generalship. All of you cannot sit in Government House, Delhi ; so I am going there on your behalf. If I am able to serve India from that place and if I am able to feel satisfied with myself in that work, I shall attribute the good fortune to you, my friends in Bengal.

Do not worry about the territorial enlargement of Bengal. Everything will be looked into and done properly, but nothing can be done properly if done in haste. In the old days there was meaning in the autonomy of Provinces. But now all Provinces have to be so closely knit together with Delhi that there is no distinction whatsoever between one Province and another. If there is lack of rice or lack of tamarind in Madras, they run to New Delhi for succour. If there is lack of salt supply in another Province, they send a telegraphic message to New Delhi. If there is some unusual noise at night in Bezwada, they send a telegram to Delhi for an army. The Dominion of India has to be so closely knit together now that this is no time to discuss the question of Provincial borders. All Provincial borders are practically abolished now and India is one. Until we are safe and sound and strong we cannot afford to quarrel with one another over matters which are essentially domestic. Whatever rights, whatever privileges we postpone are not lost ; we shall get them all with compound interest. Rights which we claim from our friends can very well afford to wait because from friends we can always get our rights back with interest and

without any deduction. We are not dealing with enemies but with friends and therefore we can afford to wait. If I am entitled to respect as a scholar or by reason of any other qualification, and if I put it aside for the time being and observe humility, I shall get double respect afterwards. What we should now concern ourselves about is how to make India strong, safe and happy, and when this object has been achieved we can afford to readjust Provinces.

I want the culture of Bengal not to be packed inside a Province but spread throughout India. We do not want water-tight bags, we want bags that will diffuse our culture all over India. I remember fifty years ago how the patriotism of Bengal was the patriotism of India as a whole. There is another era now before Bengal and you have to play your part again.

I have told you some things that may not be pleasant or in accord with your immediate ideas. I hope you will forgive me. From the time I set foot in Bengal I have been receiving overwhelming affection. I wish I could have retired into private life after serving Bengal but unfortunately it is not possible.

Thank you very much for listening to my somewhat long-drawn talk. I was thinking of Delhi rather than of Bengal, and I let myself go. My anxiety made me talk in this way. From all over the world prayers and good wishes have been showered on me. If there is any spiritual force in the prayers and wishes of good men and women, I may hope to be able to do something.

His Excellency's Speech at a Function organised by Col. Gobinda Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana of Nepal, to offer Felicitations to the New Prime Minister of Nepal, at the Gymkhana Club, Darjeeling, on the 25th May, 1948.

Mr. R. N. Sinha, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I have first of all great pleasure in thanking Col. Gobinda Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana for the generous promise he has made to improve the amenities of this place in the name of both 'Mohans', if I may say so,—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who has left us, and His Highness Mohan Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, whose accession we are celebrating here today. I have very great pleasure in participating in this function and in joining you, Sir, in tendering cordial felicitations to His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal on behalf of myself and the people of this Province. I hope and pray with this assembled gathering here that His Highness' rule may be attended with peace and progress in every direction.

It is no mean achievement that the people and rulers of Nepal have by their wisdom and bravery maintained the independence of their country through the difficult times that this part of Asia passed through in the early years of the 19th century. Not only has Nepal preserved her independence but her people have played a great and gallant part in the wars that have disturbed the peace of the world and have extorted the grateful admiration of her allies in the West, which has been expressed in no unmistakable terms. It is no

mean privilege for any one to be blessed with the opportunity to shape the progress of such a people and I, therefore, tender my congratulations to His Highness Maharaja Mohan Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana on his accession to the supreme command in Nepal.

With the restoration of India to complete freedom a new era must begin of more closely knit friendship and trustful mutual intercourse between Nepal and India. Whatever may have been the cause or justification for a certain degree of isolation in the policies of Asian States during the time the British ruled in India, hereafter there should be the most intimate contact and freedom of intercourse between them and free India to the advantage of all concerned. Indeed, it would be but a resumption of what prevailed in olden days under much more difficult conditions as to means of communication. I associate myself with Mr. Rup Narayan Sinha in all that he has said concerning the future prosperity and progress of Nepal.

The days of exclusive nationality are in my opinion gone. The people of one State must overflow into neighbouring States and in course of time acquire rights of citizenship therein. It is natural for such citizens to claim the privilege of sharing in the pride and joy of the mother country, notwithstanding their citizenship abroad. Such participation does in no way detract from their loyalties and duties towards the State of their adoption and may well contribute to yet more cordial relationship between the two States and thereby to the advantage of both.

Thank you Mr. Sinha for the hospitality that you have extended to me on this memorable occasion.

His Excellency's Reply to an Address of Welcome and felicitations presented by the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Darjeeling, on the 26th May, 1948.

Mr. Jalil, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am very grateful to the authorities of the Anjuman for the elaborate welcome they have arranged for me. My previous visit to this Institution was on "Id" day when the entire Muslim population was engaged in praying to the Almighty. I came here then without previous notice. The priest was good enough to offer prayers on my behalf in the mosque. I greatly appreciated the spontaneous welcome I received on that occasion. Today I find that the members of the Anjuman have taken a good deal of trouble and also I fear gone to some expense in order to arrange this welcome for me.

I am very glad to note that a large body of non-Muslim citizens and many important members of Darjeeling society have attended this function. It is a great misfortune that men do not realise the patent fact that the human race is one family. Happiness is increased by mutual love. Hatred, however skilfully managed, cannot contribute to happiness. You can see how glad every one in this gathering feels at the participation of men of all communities in today's function. General happiness is greatly enhanced by everybody coming together in a spirit of friendliness and co-operation. Modern science teaches us that

disease is infectious. But believe me, unhappiness is also infectious. If some families are unhappy, that unhappiness will also infect others. Therefore, it should be our duty to contribute to joy all around us so that every one may be happy. It is foolish on the part of small groups of people to imagine that they can be happy or prosperous by isolating themselves and attempting to secure advantages at the cost of other people. This will ultimately produce only sorrow and every one will have to partake of that sorrow.

What I am trying to explain to you is that we should all try to make one another happy. This is not a new doctrine. It is the basis of all religions. I am only repeating what our great men have preached time after time because it is necessary to appreciate and understand this principle very thoroughly now when we are in the era of complete independence. The real significance of "Independence" is that we cannot any longer depend on others for our happiness and prosperity. Our new independence is a new responsibility. We must ourselves find ways and means in order to be happy and prosperous and must work hard for the attainment of these objectives without depending on others. Conditions contributing to happiness vary from country to country. Our country is made up of a wide variety of religions, cultures, communities and languages and we must take this fact fully into account. Education in our country will have necessarily to differ from education in other countries. Boys and girls should not be content with speaking only their own mother tongue. They should be taught to handle as many neighbouring languages as

possible. For instance, a Darjeeling boy whose mother tongue is Nepali should learn Tibetan also. He will enlarge his field of employment if he also learns Bengali and Hindustani. No place in India is self-sufficient and as such we have to learn many languages. Learning of Hindustani is very essential because without learning this language nobody in India can expect to occupy positions of power and prestige to say nothing of intercourse with different cultures and people of other provinces. Far more important than education is that we must learn how to win love and mutual respect even though we may profess different religions and live in different ways. The differences in our dress and the like should not stand in the way of our mutual trust and friendship. These differences do not matter at all provided we have love in our hearts. We should all exert ourselves for the production of joy all around us. Production of joy should have priority over everything else. I would say even over production of food. Food cannot be produced unless there is joy in our minds. The kind of goodwill among all communities which I see in this hall today is what we should make it our best endeavour to secure generally.

The Anjuman has been doing very good work. It is a laudable social endeavour on the part of the small Muslim community in Darjeeling many of whom, I fancy, are not blessed with too much riches. Many are obviously poor but all of them are trying to help one another. Mr. Rahman has said in his address that the Anjuman is not a "political" organisation. But the Anjuman is, I say, doing patriotic work. Anybody

in free India who does social or educational work does work which is truly patriotic. But such is the force of past prejudices that some may imagine that the Anjuman is a communal organisation, which is a bad thing. A communal organisation has full justification if it works for the social advancement of the poor people of the community by "exploiting" (if I may use that word in a good sense) the generosity of the people belonging to that community. Somehow or other in India people feel that a member of one's community is a member of one's family. That is a very good feeling, because it is good to widen the sphere of affection. In India people's generosity can be tapped on the basis of communal feeling and affection in order to make up for deficiencies in public taxation. I would advise the members of the Anjuman to go to all parts of India and tap the resources of the rich people of their community. This will enable them to erect the building to which reference has been made in the address. This is the right line on which communal feelings should be exploited. Communal feeling is bad only when it is used for the purpose of hatred. So, my dear friends of the Anjuman, you need not be apologetic. You should carry on your work in a proper way by collecting money from rich men of your community and spending it for the benefit of the poor.

I hope that your prayers on my behalf will enable me to discharge successfully the duties which I am going to take over and to contribute in some measure to the progress and happiness of this country.

His Excellency's Speech at an Afternoon Party organised by the All-India Women's Conference, North Bengal Branch at Darjeeling, at which about 200 ladies belonging to the Various Communities in Darjeeling were present, on the 27th May, 1948.

Srimati Maya Devi, Srimati Nag and Ladies :

I am very grateful to you for all the kind words that you have said about me. I know the work of your Conference and I know that it is very difficult work that you have undertaken. But difficult or easy the work has to be done and all the work that you do is important partnership with the Government of India. Let me assure you the free Government of India cannot hope to succeed in their efforts to lift the level of happiness in this country unless women like you and organisations like yours do hard work. Women who have gathered here are comparatively in affluent circumstances. It is upon them that the burden falls of working for their less fortunate sisters. In Darjeeling there is plenty of scope for work such as your Conference has undertaken. Darjeeling is a meeting point of many languages—Tibetan, Nepali, Bengali, Hindustani and of course English. Hindustani will help children of the soil to find service in all parts of India. Bengali will help them to get service easily in Calcutta. English will greatly enlarge their field of employment. A child living in Darjeeling can easily without much effort grow up to a knowledge of Nepali, Hindustani, English and Bengali. The learning

of many languages is necessary in our country and need not frighten us. It is much more easy for children to learn languages than older people think. I am glad the Women's Conference in Darjeeling has taken up this kind of work.

As regards embroidery, knitting and needlework, you know more than I do. I can but admire and appreciate. These arts give the women a sense of confidence and a means to earn something if God visits them with any trial.

Thank you for your good wishes. The prayers showered on my behalf by women and children—I specially appreciate. Their voice may be heard and I may be enabled to do some service to the country in these difficult times.

His Excellency's Speech at the Goenka Industrial School and Children Home (West Point), Darjeeling, on the 29th May, 1948.

You can hardly imagine how glad I am to have come and seen this institution. On this soil of the Himalayas many ardent souls have worked from many years ago for the progress of the people in this region. The Monasteries which are spread over these hills are proof of the noble spirit that moved men from time immemorial. Philanthropy is not a thing of the 20th century. Many Western Christian Missionary Institutions have during more recent times worked here on the same impulse as moved the monks and great men of the olden days. It is wrong to believe that those who endeavoured to build up such institutions had any ulterior selfish purposes. They worked genuinely, earnestly and worshipfully according to the truth as they saw it. The old institutions have been planted firmly and stand like rock for time gives them advantage. It would be unfair to compare younger endeavours with old institutions or to feel depressed because the older institutions are well organised and the younger institutions leave a good deal to be desired. We should remember that old institutions which have survived were the strong ones amongst the institutions that were started long ago and that they had advantages in old days which newer institutions do not have. We may, however, profit by studying the older ones as to how things should be done. This institution owes its origin to

a businessman who is not unaware of the value of money to oneself. By giving liberally and endowing this institution he has shown an awareness of the permanent value of charitable and good works as contrasted with the transient nature of material possessions. Institutions of this kind should be supported by the people of the area. I hope the people of Darjeeling, the officials of Darjeeling and Bengal and my successor will give every encouragement and help to this and all other charitable institutions serving the people of these hills.

I thank you all for your warm reception and I wish the young ones all good luck in life.

His Excellency's Reply at the Civic Farewell Party organised by the Darjeeling Municipality held in Brabourne Park, Darjeeling, on the 30th May, 1948.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Commissioners of the Municipality and Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am very glad to be among you if only for a few hours more. I am sorry I have to go away leaving the beautiful hills behind. I liked Darjeeling not only because of the beauty of the place. I admired also the beauty of spirit as well as of person of all the people of this region. If only to see unbroken cheerfulness on the faces of men, women and children, people from other parts of India should come and see Darjeeling.

It has become a matter of common knowledge that I am sorry to leave Bengal. When I was here in October last I could sense that there was some doubt and uncertainty in people's minds as to whether this district of Darjeeling would be happy or not in free India. People were apprehensive that class and class, community and community would show hostility to one another. Now after six months, I am glad to feel that there is a settled feeling of confidence in the minds of the people here. I am relieved to find that fear has been dispelled from the atmosphere. God be thanked, people now trust one another. If we distrust one another, we shall have to pay for our folly. After the recent Inter-Dominion Conference I am glad to note commerce and movement have begun to improve in Darjeeling.

Whatever the causes may be, the children of these hills have a natural aptitude for rhythm and for drill. God has endowed the children of the Himalayas with a sense of rhythm. Bharatanatyam, which was brought to perfection with great difficulty in Madras, comes easily to boys and girls here. Again, all boys and girls here are ready-made soldiers. Every child stands erect and what is more, does not know how to stand otherwise. It would be sad beyond measure if the people of these parts lose these qualities of simplicity and discipline by association with holiday-makers who come to this spot. While the plainsmen lost their independence, the brave and courageous Gurkhas through wise negotiation maintained their independence. We should respect the people of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. Darjeeling holds the overflow of these countries. Its beauty largely consists in the mixed composition of its population. Let us learn to love one another, respect one another and to live all of us proud of free India. A state will be all the stronger for looking after a district like Darjeeling with care.

Ministers and heads of departments should come to Darjeeling and maintain contact with the people of this place. This is one end of Bengal. Government should not mind comments that they go to Darjeeling to enjoy its salubrious climate. I have set an example and I hope the Ministers and officials of Government will copy it. It is a great privilege for a Province to have within its boundaries a beautiful place like Darjeeling. You people of Darjeeling are also lucky that you are in a Province whose metropolis is a great

city like Calcutta. This association provides for you numerous avenues of employment. Educate your children, and you will do well, I am sure, in the coming times.

It gladdens my heart to see little children walking up the slopes like soldiers to schools every morning. Teachers of these schools, I adjure you to be honest with your pupils. Do not make a trade or a self-supporting industry out of education. Education is a sacred avocation which was once given by our Shastras as a monopoly to those who owned no property and were not interested in acquiring any. That wholesome law has unfortunately broken down, and now schools have occasionally to be gingered up by visiting officials. When they demand better standards, do not quarrel with them. Higher standards in education are necessary. The prosperity and progress of a community depend ultimately on the quality of their education. Those who are wealthy have a responsibility in the matter of spreading education among the people to whom they belong. Remember wealth gives joy only when you are young. It causes only anxiety when you reach journey's end. If you want to be happy when you are old you must spend your money upon worthy objects for the benefit of the people whom you love. Start a number of philanthropic institutions in this beautiful place, those of you who have the means to do so and the Governments of India and West Bengal will be compelled to make their own contributions.

Unlike the holiday-makers who stay in these hills only for a part of the year, the scavengers and others

here have to live in winter also, and you all know what winter here means. So you see why they have to be paid well. But this and other similar things need money, and it is not proper that the people of rural parts to whom no amenities are provided should be taxed so that life in towns and cities may be pleasant and comfortable. You cannot, therefore, ask for subventions. The rich people who own property in municipal areas should go to the assistance of their municipalities. Land values and site values have risen so much that it would be justifiable to make even a capital levy on the property owners of places like Darjeeling. There is no public play-ground at all in Darjeeling where the children could gather together and have sports and games. I hope that the rich people of this place will come forward with assistance and contribute handsomely so that a play-ground can be laid out for the poor children of this place.

The spirit of Buddha hovers over this land. The teachings of Buddha became for a time common place by too much repetition, but in our present position we need to go back to them in full. There was a great man who by his life overlapped Buddha for a while. He is now gone and joined the eternal Buddha. Buddha wanted us to love one another and to return good for evil. The power of good is greater than that of evil, and if we return good for evil, evil must extinguish itself.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am overwhelmed by your kindness. I shall treasure this memory.

His Excellency's Speech at a Farewell Meeting organised by the Siliguri Subdivisional Congress Committee held at Siliguri, on the 31st May, 1948.

Sisters and Brothers :

I am very grateful to you all for assembling here to give me farewell and for your good wishes. I depend entirely on the prayers and good wishes of friends to enable me to acquit myself with any degree of success in the office I have to undertake shortly. The good wishes of such a vast assemblage of persons as this must have some effect. If I succeed in doing something in Delhi I shall certainly attribute it to the good wishes of the women and children that have given their blessings to me in Bengal. I am moved beyond words by the love that is shown to me. I can only thank you in simple words. Let me assure you, wherever I may be, I shall not forget the affection that has been shown towards me throughout the time I have been in Bengal.

We have gone through many difficulties and sufferings in recent times. But you may be sure, sisters and brothers, that there is a great future before India. Our present duty is to keep together and give a chance to the leaders to lead India to safety and progress. I see clear signs before me that Hindus and Muslims throughout India will settle down to goodwill, peace and mutual co-operation. There is no ill-will in the heart. It is only pride that keeps them apart. God will help us so that this pride dissolves like mist before the sun and people will come together and make India great.

Last October when I came here and went to Darjeeling I found an atmosphere of suspicion between the hill people and the plains people. The hill people and the plains people now understand one another and now there is peace, there is understanding and there is happiness. I come back from Darjeeling with the conviction that the people of the hills and the people of the plains will get on very well.

The leader on whom we all relied and who was able to correct all mistakes and to set right all faults is gone. We have, therefore, to be very careful. If we want the spirit of Mahatmaji to help us, we must all sincerely and without pretension or hypocrisy love one another. Whatever may be our caste, religion or place of birth, we must realise that we belong to one family and must work together for the glory of India. Let us trust in God and work in that spirit and we will certainly reach our goal. Let us not try to deceive one another. If we deceive one another, it will ultimately mean our ruin.

I thank you all once again, particularly those who have come from distant villages, for the trouble you have taken to come to this meeting and bid me goodbye.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Meeting of the
Rotary Club held in the Great Eastern Hotel,
on the 1st June, 1948.**

I thank you for your kind invitation to be present at your gathering today. I presume it is your intention to wish me God-speed in my new undertaking. My comrades have bestowed on me the greatest honour and token of affection that they could possibly bestow on an old colleague and I am grateful to them for it. It fills the evening of my life as with heavenly twilight. There is nothing more divine among earthly things than human affection and confidence. It is this aspect of it that compensates for the accompanying feeling of doubt whether I have not taken a false step in yielding to the pressure of my colleagues.

The affairs of our State are at present so entangled that it is the height of temerity for one like me at this period of my life to accept an office which whatever be the present constitutional position, has been associated until this moment with the highest responsibility in the State. This historical association it is not easy for people at once to forget. The greatest expectations have been raised in the minds of good men scattered all over the world who are interested in the progress and happiness of the people of free and independent India. When millions in this country and abroad wish eagerly for a good thing and pray for it, God may grant the wish and may use me as an instrument for the purpose. You all know what I want. It is unthinkable that we should thoughtlessly allow

our dear country to be plunged in civil strife again. Those of us who required to see the horrors of civil strife in order to learn that civil strife is bad have seen enough and more. Never again should we think of leaving any means unexplored so that peace and goodwill may reign and so that the women and children of our land may be saved from being again exposed to the horrors of insane communal hatred. Man has a highly developed brain. He has learnt much. But when emotions are allowed to grow without restraint and they seize our mind, all reason, all good sense, all the lessons of experience are displaced and we become no better than a pack of wild beasts.

We have potentialities for a great future. The resources of our country are fairly great. The level of culture and education that the intelligentsia among our people have attained is also fairly high. Our past and the traditions of culture and civilisation we possess are of the highest quality. Therefore the potentiality of free India is great. If only we have peace India will soon become a truly great member in the comity of free nations. The West has nothing but goodwill towards us and the East is united with us in indissoluble bonds of culture and faith and is feeling as intensely relieved at the independence of India as we ourselves who have been released from bondage. All the peoples of the East feel relieved because the freedom of India is tantamount to the freedom of all South Asia.

Nothing will stand in the way of our glory unless we make our own folly do it. May the Lord have

mercy on us and save us from thoughtlessness. There are fools among all peoples who will shout honour and would have their men and women act recklessly. But thank God we have still men among us who lead, whose stature and whose wise leadership are not inferior to the stature and the wisdom of the great statesmen of the civilised world. God might have spared Gandhiji for us for just a few more years so that we might have been fool-proof. But it had been decreed otherwise. All the greater will be the glory of the dear leaders who have been spared to us and who are piloting our State.

We need not worry about what other peoples of the world may be thinking or doing. It is only if we are engaged in any enterprise of a doubtful character that we should be anxious about propaganda. Our only problem is internal. God be thanked, there is goodwill all around. We have only to see that we do not light the fire of thoughtlessness within the borders of our country.

Whatever wrongs any one in India feels and whatever remedies one may want in order to set these wrongs right, let us make it an unalterable rule that we shall depend on nothing but persuasion and have firm faith in the power of truth and time to rectify all wrongs. Any other policy will lead us to adventures wherein the losses will be great and the gains lose all their value on account of the means employed.

Friends, all this may be true, but I am sad I am leaving you all and going to a place where I shall

not find the honey that I found in Bengal. Truly I say that barring the period of childhood these ten months I spent amidst the people of Bengal have been the happiest period of my life. All the travail and all the dreariness of years were forgotten in the affection I found here, in me for the men and women of this place and in them for me. How can I ever forget all this joy that the people of Bengal gave me. I shall in Delhi be surrounded by good friends on all sides. But the experience God gave me in Bengal I cannot hope to have anywhere else.

I leave only one message, Hindus and Muslims in East Bengal or West Bengal—remember I am a friend whom you can continue to trust. You have experienced the joy of peace and goodwill. Do not listen to foolish and wicked voices but continue to foster goodwill in every possible way. Look forwards, look not backwards. I feel we have crossed the valley and that we shall see better days. There was never any hatred in the hearts of our people and there is none now. There was fear but it has greatly diminished all round. Minorities have begun in more than one place to feel confident about the government under which they must live. There are not wanting among us thoughtless men who find satisfaction only in maintaining the fear of minorities, but their influence has waned. There is pride, and it makes people continue to utter old slogans because change means a confession of error ; but even this is melting.

May Gandhiji's memory ever be an inspiration to you all. His greatness reached its height in Bengal. May we do all we can to make and maintain Bengal as a monument of his great life.

His Excellency's Speech at a Tea Party at the Calcutta Club given by the President and Members of the Marwari Sabha on the 8th June, 1948.

Friends :

You say I am the first Indian Governor-General to function in free India. Probably I shall be the last Governor-General and I shall have to shake hands with Warren Hastings across the ages saying "You were the first and I am the last in your noble line." Be that as it may, it is not for any foreign State or any party interested in that foreign State to intimidate us into separation from Britain. It is for India to decide and she will decide not at the dictation of others or to please others but in her own interests and when it suits her. India will exercise her judgment freely and wisely and will not be hustled into any decision by outsiders. Independence is not worth much if we have no independent thinking. Big men as well as small men, Governments as well as citizens should think independently and come to conclusions. They should not be hustled into decisions through fear of ridicule or to please anybody on earth.

There are people trying to mislead young men that the Union Jack will be hoisted on King's Birthday as a part of a conspiracy to keep India in the British Commonwealth. Conspiracies are not so easy as all that. If on His Majesty's Birthday on June 10th a gesture of courtesy is shown by us by

flying the British flag in free India along with our own State flag, it is not conspiracy but just courtesy. I warn young men not to be misled by such nonsense. As I said before, when we separate from Britain, we shall do so by deliberate decision and not because some one laughs or some one frightens us. It is India's interest and India's dignity that must decide.

In spite of our present great difficulties I hope we will get over them all and will have time to think of improving the standard of life in our country. Merely making rich people poorer will not help in raising the average income of the people. Average incomes have been calculated taking into account the income of rich people. If, therefore, we desire to raise the standard of life and to raise the average national income we must produce wealth and wealth cannot be produced without work. We should not try to deceive one another but every one should work in his own line and produce more. That is the only way to increase national wealth and the only way to raise the standard of life.

I appeal to businessmen to co-operate with the Government of India more genuinely and wholeheartedly. I ask for your good wishes and prayers, and if good men offer their prayers for me, I may achieve something. When I hear friends cheering me up I feel encouraged.

His Excellency's Speech at a Farewell Party given by the staff of the West Bengal Secretariat at Writers' Buildings on the 9th June, 1948.

Dear friends :

It is difficult to think clearly when one's emotion is deeply stirred. Reading your address in English as it was given to me, I felt that the spirit of Gurudev's poetry was pervading you all. I thank you and the spirit of Gurudev who has spoken through you for the good wishes extended to me. I am deeply moved by your affection and I hope I shall deserve it.

The Chief Secretary has spoken words of high praise and encouragement. Whatever the constitution may be, the Governor of a Province should, I think, consider it his particular duty to give friendly personal advice to every one of the permanent service who comes to him with any difficulty or problem. It is the Governor's function and duty to foster a spirit of mutual helpfulness between all classes of public servants and also between them and the Ministers. When we have settled down in democracy, I feel sure that the permanent service in India will feel as happy and proud in the discharge of their duties as the permanent Government servants do in England. I mention England because in my view democracy which functions in England has by age-long test and trial and adjustment become more efficient than any other democracy functioning anywhere else in the world. Government is a many limbed organisation and it is very necessary that every limb should be properly adjusted and function with smoothness and efficiency.

Otherwise, the best Government will fail. I have found by experience that the people of our country appreciate the proper discharge of duties by officials quite as much as people of other countries. Young men sitting in offices and working day after day in the same kind of monotonous atmosphere may often fall into a feeling of depression and bitterness. You should realise that every screw in a machine is equally important and once a machine is set up, each screw must remain in its proper place and must not try to move about. Everyone must be content and find joy in doing the work allotted to him. I remember that in the Spinners' Association young men used to complain to me that in looking after carders and spinners and weavers they were not doing national work, but mere routine work of no importance or variety. I told them no one could have the pleasure of growing cotton, carding, spinning, weaving and finally wearing the cloth thus produced all by himself. When properly organised, however noble and patriotic any work may be, it tends to become mechanical and each part of that machine will have to be content in its own sphere. You should have the philosophy to recognise that your work, however humble and monotonous, is noble and patriotic. If in your day to day work you are just in your appraisal and careful in your understanding, you are doing as much patriotic work as a soldier in the battlefield. When I am away in Delhi I should like to hear that the West Bengal Secretariat staff and indeed everybody in Bengal works contentedly, joyfully and with pride in his work, feeling that he is doing patriotic work.

I wish to leave this message : Do not get tired of your work ; do not let the devil tempt you to anger. I know that your virtues are great but you have to be ever on guard. Your officers are not bad men. They are good and patriotic people of experience. You should seek their advice whenever you are in difficulty. I feel like a father towards you all. I wish that you will by your conduct prove that I have earned my title to go to Delhi through association with you. Never yield to superficial and thoughtless suggestion or advice. There should be no difficulty in your getting right advice. Along with the problems Bengal has, she has great potentialities. I tell you there is no ill-will among our people. There may be selfishness, jealousy or self-interest. But there is no ill-will in Bengal or in Bihar. Selfishness and self-interest may operate to some extent. Ignorance and wisdom will compete with each other in giving shape to the issue of self-interest. We should develop wisdom in all matters. If we have respect for one another's feelings, all difficulties will be removed. I have very high hopes about Bengal. My going away should not create any void. My successor will, I tell you, be more successful than myself. I say this from personal experience of him. I know him very well. Nothing will give me greater pleasure than if my successor proves to be a more beloved Governor than myself.

Thank you very much for all the devotion and affection you have showered on me during my stay in Bengal. I do not know how to repay you. I leave only one slogan for you—" Be good always." This will please God. This will please the spirit of our departed leader.

His Excellency's Speech at a Farewell Party given by the Calcutta Cosmopolitan Club at 58/2, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, on the 11th June, 1948.

Dear Sisters and Brothers :

It gives me pleasure to see you all. At the same time it is a pity that I have to say farewell to you. Technically the language of farewell is inappropriate. Although I may go some distance, it is in your power by your affection to hold me firmly here even though space may divide me from Calcutta.

The Cosmopolitan Club is a very important institution in Calcutta, because men and women from all parts of India are gathered here. I hope the ingenuity of your Executive Committee will devise measures to bring the members together frequently on some function or other. It is difficult for men and women to meet without something to engage their interest. Your committee should devise some interesting programme which would not be too costly but would help to bring you all together. In a modern civilised community, it is necessary that people of all sorts should mix freely together. In the olden times men and women belonging to various Provinces or religions or manners could remain apart and be happy. But in modern life unless we mix there is a tendency to quarrel. We cannot remain apart and yet remain friends in modern times. Unless we are friends, we become enemies. This is a development on account of

the modern expansion in all directions of ambition. This Club offers scope for all sorts of people to come together and understand one another. Although it may look small in size and activities, there is a good seed here, which we should foster to full growth. I should like everyone of the members to try and bring in more friends into the Club. Your Executive Committee has to be alert and inventive in spirit. Apart from games like tennis, which attract a limited number of people, you must try and invent something in which everybody can take a moderate amount of interest. I know Mr. Swamy is very inventive, but I fear that unless he is helped by others he may not succeed very much. You must devise programmes to which objection may not be raised and you should be ready to alter them from time to time, if need be, to suit the convenience and taste of members.

Although I may not be here, I would be interested to know from time to time how you are getting on.

I am very glad that you have got, as your new President, Mrs. Choudhury. She is doing very good work in her own home. She might try her hand on the members of the Cosmopolitan Club and get them to do some little work under her guidance. This may become an interesting programme and at the same time help other people. You ought to find pleasure in adjusting yourselves to the "fads" of every successive president. Every president has an individuality or should have one, and you should try to make use of that individuality.

Friends, I do not want you to be sad over my going away. It is good to have a change. There is no reason why you should feel sad over a change of Governors.

My successor who, I am sure, will be asked to become patron of this Club will give all assistance. He is an old friend of mine, a good man, one who has earned the love and confidence of the people of his own Province as well as of Orissa. Since I am used to talking truthfully, let me tell you, that he will prove in every way superior to me. Make the best use of his talents and goodness.

Thank you very much once again for your affectionate welcome.

His Excellency's reply to an address of welcome from Sisir Kumar Institute at Uttara Cinema on the 13th June, 1948.

Tushar Babu, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I have taken advantage of your invitation in order that I may say goodbye to you all. In bidding goodbye to you, I take leave of Bengal and go to undertake less pleasant tasks elsewhere. I want to leave a parting request when I go from Bengal. Sons and daughters of Bengal, whatever work is allotted to you, do it with joy in your minds. That is the only way to happiness, progress and civilisation. All work becomes pleasant when there is affection associated with it. If there is joy in the heart even difficult tasks become pleasant. I remember 35 years ago when I stood in front of a treadle machine and took off what I had written about Gandhiji, treadling the machine myself. It was work done with joy and it was beautiful. A mother bathes her child in the bath room. Scrounging may be unpleasant to outsiders but is a joy to the mother. Every work that we do for the country we should look upon as work done for our own baby. Till now we have been figuring our motherland as a Mother, but I want you hereafter to look upon it as a Baby to be tended with motherly care. All service we render to the motherland hereafter should be done with the same tender care as is shown in nursing a baby. A baby has got all nature to support it, but a baby-State has no inherent vitality unless citizens take care of it. A child is a child of nature, but a State is not a child of nature, but the invention of man.

Every part of India should be a healthy and strong unit and the units should not quarrel with one another. We should not expand or exaggerate every internal problem into an international dispute. If we expand internal disputes into international controversies, we will have Mahabharata instead of Ramayana. Ramayana is the story of Ram's bringing back Sita into his house and Mahabharata is the story of how the family split and fought within itself and committed suicide.

You know all these things better than myself because you inherit the tradition of Sisir Babu. He represented in the early years of the 19th century the true fighting spirit of Bengal. So strong was his fighting spirit that he sometimes fought even good things. Truth is like a big elephant and searchers after truth are like the blind-men in the story. We cannot see all aspects or truth at the same time. When we deal with the names and memories of deceased great men we should deal with their work as a whole and not with their particular views and create factions over them. Sisir Babu was a great man but he supported the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. Today we want to abolish the zemindary system. The very paper he started, now edited by his son, wants to abolish the zemindary system. Sisir Babu opposed the introduction of the Criminal Procedure Code and today we want even a more efficient criminal law. Sisir Babu, I believe, opposed the Age of Consent Bill. Today we are unanimously against child marriage and in fact may have to start a movement for popularising marriages among educated ladies. Truth is something different from the greatness of our ancestors. If they

took particular views at particular times, we should not necessarily adhere fanatically to those views now. Let us adore great men but let us think aright and not superstitiously quote their views.

I want you not to allow yourselves to forget me and to pray for me whenever I am in difficulties. I had no difficulties here. All difficulties melted like snow before the sun in Bengal. But where I am going now difficulties are likely to harden like snow on the Himalayas.

Thank you very much for the joy that you gave me during these ten months. I say goodbye to you all with sadness in my heart.

His Excellency's Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the West Bengal Municipal Conference held in the Council Chamber of the Corporation of Calcutta, on the 13th June, 1948.

Friends :

When I accepted this invitation I thought I would still continue in Bengal and be of some assistance to you in shaping and executing your plans. But as it has developed now, I have come only to say goodbye to you. I do hope, therefore, that you will forgive me if I leave the main business of your conference in the worthy hands of my friend, Mr. Biswas, and the Chairman of the Reception Committee (Mr. Mukherji) and make only a formal declaration that this conference is opened.

I agree with the Chairman of the Reception Committee that it is a very urgent problem that you are tackling. It is urgently necessary that the financial condition of the municipal Corporations outside Calcutta should be placed on a sound footing. As I have said before, this problem is urgent not only for its own inherent reasons but also because otherwise the problem of Calcutta will become too difficult for management. Unless other urban areas in Bengal are made not only clean but also provided with good drainage and water-supply and made comfortable and attractive for people with families to live there, they would all naturally flow into Calcutta where there is business, the attraction of speculation and where wandering from office to office in search of employment is in itself an amusement. There is some joy in uncertainty and men would come together in a big

city if only because uncertainty is better than the certainty of squalor in other places. I entirely agree with the Chairman that in order to solve this deadlock we must at once devise ways and means to make the urban areas outside Calcutta financially sound and comfortable to live in. The problems of the Corporation of Calcutta are very different from the problems of the urban municipal areas in Bengal. Bengal's towns outside Calcutta are in a very decadent condition. We may love and cherish their historic character but they are obviously in a decadent condition. The value of property in Calcutta is high. The councillors of the Corporation can raise money if they like and have the courage. The case of mofussil municipalities is different. I would ask you to consider the position carefully in your conference and see what should be done for improving the financial position of the urban municipalities as distinct from the Calcutta Corporation.

As the Chairman has observed, the position now is quite different from what it was before the transfer of power in Provinces and Centre to the representatives of the people. The 19th century Indian statesmen worked to create political consciousness from down below. The then Government did not allow political development at the top. Democratic institutions like municipalities and district boards were organised to bring pressure to bear on the foreign Government. That explains the struggle of men like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta in Bombay and Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee in Calcutta. They were jealous of any encroachment which the Government might make on municipal administration. Today the position is different,

because we have a national Government. There is no more any question of encroachment on municipal administration by Government. But human progress does not always proceed on logic. Once an institution has grown men naturally want to preserve it. Therefore, there is resentment if the Government, though it is a national one, interferes in municipal affairs. I believe that the national Government will render every possible assistance to you who are gathered here. If you consider in a detached manner taking all things together, and send your proposals to Government, I am sure Government will not turn your proposals down. I am glad that Mr. Justice Biswas will guide your deliberations. The way to find solutions for tough problems is to approach them with a fresh mind and without prejudice.

I say goodbye to you and ask you to give me your best wishes. Thank you very much for the fine spirit of fellowship that I found everywhere in Bengal. Please do not let me go out of your mind because I am out of sight. I would like you to do and to abstain just as if I continued with you.

His Excellency's Speech at a Farewell Dinner Party given by the Eastern Chamber of Commerce at Great Eastern Hotel, on the 14th June, 1948.

Mr. Dalal, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I am very grateful for all the kind words that have been said about me on behalf of your Chamber by your President. I shall ever remember the trust and affection that I have received from all classes of people in Bengal during the time I have been here. It is not merit on my part but it is only good luck or God's grace—whatever you may call it—that enabled me to secure so much human affection as I have been able to do. If you would like to attribute it to human causes rather than to divine pleasure, what you give me credit for was all done by Gandhiji before I set foot here. It is the rich seed he planted in the soil of Bengal courageously and against all popular discouragement that bore fruit. I want his work to grow still further. There will be happiness in Bengal and in India only if we follow the principles of conduct that Mahatmaji taught and wanted us to observe. Before my departure if I entreat you to follow Mahatmaji's teachings, it is not because I want to pay homage to my dear master but because I want you all to be happy.

The constitution has established democratic authority. But nothing will produce any result if we do not act like good and truthful men. Democracy is of no avail if we are not truthful. I would ask you not to bother about the State or Governor or democracy, but to be good men and women, and all will be well.

The office of a Governor or Governor-General in a democratic constitution is something different from that of an administrator. A Governor or a Governor-General will have to cultivate good feelings between party and party, class and class, between Ministers who govern on the strength of majorities and the minorities who are governed, between Ministers on the one hand and the permanent servants on the other, and among all the units that go to make a State happy. He must cultivate good-will and search out all means by which friction can be removed. Otherwise majority rule will just become intolerable. The constitution can provide for nothing but majority rule. It is precisely and primarily for this reason that the function of a Governor or a Governor-General is to create good-will amongst all classes of people and make democracy function for general happiness.

Thank you very much for your kind reception and farewell.

**His Excellency's Speech at the Farewell Party
given by the Indian Chamber of Commerce
at the Calcutta Club, on the 16th June, 1948.**

Mr. Goenka and friends assembled :

As I am nearing the end of my stay in Bengal I am feeling more and more sorry that I am leaving.

You have referred to my popularity. You will not misunderstand me if I say that popularity is not a good objective in life. We should all aim at doing something good, thinking something good and saying something good. Any one who aims at popularity misses his mark. If incidentally popularity comes by the way, you should be grateful.

I am in a mood of fault-finding. You have referred to my being the executive head of the State. That is a form of language which is understood by lawyers. That description of my office need not enhance my importance in your eyes. You have referred to the Governor-General's power to take over the entire burden of the State including the Legislature in the event of an emergency. May God save me from such an emergency, which means a serious calamity, a breakdown of the constitution. No one should contemplate such an eventuality. If good men think something, it may even happen. So I would ask you not to think on those lines.

With regard to your general statement, Mr. President, the need for constructive work before attempting any revolution, all leaders in India recognise. All the leaders in charge of the affairs of India are of the same opinion, namely, that we must

build and not destroy. The process which is called revolution is understood by people in different senses. Those who use that word in the right sense do not mean anything more than a great change. Some use it in the sense of turning things topsy-turvy. The word "revolution" is misleading. It is much better hereafter to use the language of construction, of building up, layer on layer, stratum on stratum, brick over brick, rather than of turning something upside down which is associated with the word "revolution." I can assure you, friends, that our leaders are determined to build and build carefully. But certain things have got to be changed. Times have changed. No individual or labourer can do much by himself. So much joint labour is necessary in modern life that the assistance of the State in numerous ways must be secured for all production. The State is one of your tools. Do not, therefore, grudge paying heavy taxes. Make things pleasant and easy ; otherwise we give room to thoughtlessness and dangerous action.

My colleagues in the Government of India look upon me as a hard conservative. You may, therefore, be happy. Unfortunately, the long process by which we have attained freedom has created certain complexes in men's mind. Our leaders are good and capable men and they cannot be replaced now by any better set of people. You should admire the way in which they have handled things so far and stood the strain. Our leaders' task is not so easy as men might think. Place yourselves in their position and you will realise that you could not have managed things better than they have done. Difficult tasks do not offer many solutions. They can only be handled in one way. I

appeal to you for understanding, confidence and co-operation with our leaders who are in charge now. Take for instance Hyderabad. Some people may be impatient about it. But it is a dangerous thing for Governments to be impatient. Is it desirable to plunge India into another war? It is possible to talk impatiently but no one could handle the situation better or more wisely. Our leaders have displayed enormous capacity for hard work and patience. Do not indulge even in private conversation in doubts or thoughtless disparaging remarks. They do not help. We have the best Government that we can have to-day. The Ministers in charge are worthy people and they deserve your trust. They are compelled to bear the burden. They feel they cannot honestly throw the burden away and so they carry on. They are not hungry for power. Any one who thinks so is thoroughly mistaken. They are there because they want to see India happy. I know them intimately for thirty years and therefore, I can speak with authority.

I am grateful for this reception and for all the kindness and affection shown to me during these ten months I was here.

His Excellency's Speech at the 23rd Death Anniversary of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das at the Keoratala Burning Ghat, on the 16th June, 1948.

Sisters and Brothers :

Let us begin the proceedings with clasped hands for a moment in remembrance of the departed soul. It is a privilege for me to come and be with you in Bengal at this time of my life. I consider it an additional privilege that just before I leave you I join in this homage to the departed hero. Today on the eve of my departure, fall the anniversaries of both Deshbandhu Das and Acharya Ray. Thirty years ago I met Deshbandhu Das at a Congress Subjects Committee Meeting in Bombay over which Hassan Imam presided and that was before anybody dreamt of the non-co-operation movement. He found me out and used me for drafting amendments to modify the moderate proposals drafted by Malaviyaji favouring acceptance of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. I was comparatively a young man then and I was eager to make extremist proposals. Malaviyaji did not like my attitude and in order to prevent me doing any mischief tried to keep me occupied otherwise. But Deshbandhu Das gave me a protecting hand and took me over to his own table and I remember he reminded me, long afterwards of this incident.

The departed spirits of the dead may not take any interest in our continuing vanities. But if they do take some interest on account of the enormous love that they bore us, possibly Deshbandhu Das's soul may be amused very much at my present preoccupations.

Newspaper readers know that I differed from Deshbandhu in 1921 but they do not know the affection we had for each other. I remember when he came to Salem on a whirlwind propaganda for the Swarajist movement, everybody thought that Deshbandhu Das and I were on opposite sides. The air was thick with expectation in Salem, when at the reception in the town hall we surprised the crowd by embracing one another. Many in the crowd were moved to tears. People began to see that there was something greater than political controversy. I remember today with joy his remarks then on seeing my clean shaven head "when did you become a Sanyasi?" Friends, I am in a reminiscent mood and you will excuse me for indulging in these talks on a solemn occasion like this.

Those were days when Deshbandhu and other great leaders did not dream that there would be any communal warfare in our country. We are in difficult times and we must look back for inspiration to our departed leaders. All of us must disappear from the earth and our bodies reduced to ashes. All that goes to make this body must disappear and only our action will remain. This is what the Rishis have sung and asked us to remember. We are ignorant and wise alternatively. One moment we only think of our wives and our children and the next moment we think of our country. One moment we remember our group and our community and the next moment we remember the whole country. One moment we are narrow and selfish and another moment we are broad-minded. Our minds go up and down like the wind-washed ocean. Nature works in that way. Let us

yield to the wind of patriotism and broadmindedness and go up at least on occasion. Let us not be like stagnant water in a pool. We are not heroes, but ordinary men. We may go down sometimes but let us try to go up also and maintain an average standard of patriotism and civic consciousness.

Friends, we have gathered together to pay homage to the dead but the dead demand a more real homage than what we pay in words. They want right action.

This memorial of Deshbandhu Das is too small. We want the whole of India to be Deshbandhu Das's memorial. We have to cleanse our hearts and work for that great memorial.

I am extremely fortunate in having the privilege of being associated with this function on the eve of my departure from Bengal. All good luck, all joy and happiness to you, my sisters and brothers. Whenever we find difficulties let us trust in God and walk in the right path.

His Excellency's Reply to the Address of Farewell and Felicitations from the Bengal Amateur Boxing Federation, on the 17th June, 1948.

Dear Sportsmen :

I bid you farewell. I am grateful for your felicitations. The enthusiasm for all kinds of sports that I have seen in Calcutta is truly remarkable, volley ball, football, athletic competitions like running, jumping, cycling, muscle display, bar bending, chain breaking and wrestling and the like, and the noble sport of swimming and last but not least boxing. I have greatly enjoyed the sight of youth and their supporters and trainers displaying tremendous enthusiasm and the general public gathering to add a sense of pride and glory and an atmosphere of general enjoyment and healthy encouragement, a daily sight of joy in Calcutta the like of which I think one does not see in the other cities of India.

I want you all to go on without slackening. I hope every help and encouragement will be given by the public and the Government to the organisers of this great instrument for moral reconstruction. Sport is a great instrument. When I saw the beautiful display of friendship shown in the Calcutta maidan when the Aligarh boys had come here I was deeply impressed. Let there be no unwanted controversies over the relative merits or importance of the several varieties of sport. All sport is one. The gentle and seemingly effeminate sport of skipping with a rope is the best ally to the terrible looking masculine boxer which enables him to keep fit, agile as well as strong.

Boxing is good. It puts grit and courage and carelessness of pain into the young soul and develops a watchful eye and an agile body. These are invaluable. Keep, however, the proper balance. A religious spirit and nobility of conduct should be developed alongside of good boxing. There is no contradiction in this. One helps the other.

All good luck to the boxers of Bengal.

**His Excellency's Reply to Felicitations of Bangiya
Ayurvedic Mahasammelan, on the 17th June,
1948.**

I bid farewell to you my Kaviraj friends. I am grateful for your felicitations. You are a strong body in Bengal. But do not use your strength except strictly for national progress. Do not strive for personal or group advantages where the national gain is doubtful. I know there is quite a great deal of superstition and blind prejudice among even modern medical practitioners and these are not the monopoly of Eastern medicine. Truth and science are one. There can be no competition between truth and truth, but only between truth and error.

I would entreat you to remember three things. One is to demand and not oppose a high standard of general education and equipment and careful selection in admitting students to your colleges for courses in medicine. The other is to include modern scientific knowledge alongside of our traditional Ayurveda in your institutions so that truth may run in a single course and prejudice and ignorance vanish to the minimum point. Thirdly, scientific research should be encouraged and there should be no opposition but full co-operation in this between the western doctors and the learned Kavirajes.

Good-bye to you all.

**His Excellency's Reply to an Address of Farewell
given by the Muslims of Calcutta at Grand
Hotel, on the 18th June, 1948.**

Mr. Dossani and friends assembled :

I am moved to my depths looking at you all gathered to give me your good wishes. Both the halls are full with loving people. No language but the language of poetry can do justice either to my feelings or to yours. That is why I greatly appreciated what was chanted by the young poet who sang the song of praise and love for me. All that he sang about me, I could sing about you all. It is only because I am a man fairly trained in the art of restraining my emotions that I do not let my tears flow. If I had not the restraint of elderly society round me, I would have hugged all of you to my bosom and wept at this parting.

Take it from me, friends, Hindus and Mussalmans, men, women and children of Bengal, I leave my heart behind. It is not a young heart, it is old in years but it is young in love all the same. I pray to God and I am hopeful that my successor will continue to enjoy your love even as I have enjoyed it at your hands. Take it from me that he will continue the good work and will not let the chain of affection break. Those who doubt the law of love preached by Gandhiji, our departed leader, dear to everyone of us, to whatever community or religion he may belong, the doctrine of conduct that he taught, please see how without any great effort and without any achievement I have succeeded in conquering the hearts of all the people assembled here. Copy me, do not praise me. I have done nothing for the poor people of Calcutta or Bengal, but they have appreciated my feelings towards them,

and they have poured their affection on me. Everyone of you can do and succeed as I have done.

When I came here to Calcutta on the 14th of August 1947 and when I went round the city in the following few days, it is still vividly in my memory what desolation I saw wherever I went. I vividly remember the impression made on my mind at the sight of a vast city, broad streets but empty of human occupation. I saw blackened doors and windows, charred walls, empty shops, closed doors and not many walking on the roads. I was then wondering whether Calcutta would ever regain its busy life. In many places where I went, I saw loyal, disciplined and sturdy soldiers standing guard and civilians walking with fear visible in their faces. This was ten months ago and I almost forgot all that, when I now go round and see the streets full, the houses full and all the shops open and busy and everybody happy, cheerful and smiling back when I look at them. We have prayed to God in many ways and in many languages; we can never pray too much. Let us offer prayer to God so that this happiness, mutual trust and busy life may continue unbroken hereafter. Friends, stand up for a minute and pray in silence. (The audience all stood in silence for a minute.)

It is true that we have seen peace and change in the atmosphere. You attribute it to my good luck. I am glad you do not attribute it to my powers or my talents but only to my good luck which is in God's hands. The man who was responsible for this change is gone from our midst. I remember with what anxiety I read the daily reports from the Police and other administrative authorities about incidents in

Calcutta and elsewhere and I remember the anxious conversations I have had during the first few weeks with the Police and Military Chiefs. When Gandhiji wanted to go to Delhi, I was anxious, but I had by then become fairly confident, and when he went to Delhi and began to speak to the people there I felt that he had risen to the height of his glory and his eminence. At the height of his glory, Gandhiji disappeared from our midst. Thank God that Bengal has continued to maintain the same peace and the same growing mutual trust as Gandhi saw when lived. Do not for a moment imagine that peace in Bengal is maintained by force either of the Police or of the Civil or Military authorities. It is maintained by the good sense and mutual trust of the people of Bengal. The plant that is guarded by a fence against the onslaught of the goats lives not on the fence but on the water that we pour on it. In the same way, the Police and the civil authorities only look after the mischiefmakers but love grows in the hearts of men and not in the offices of Government. If you want peace, happiness—whether you are Hindu or Muslim, whether you are Marwari or Bengali, whether you are Jew or Parsi or Englishman—look not to Government but look after your own hearts.

I am going laden with your good wishes and may God help that your good wishes may have the same force as the blessings of the old Rishis. You have asked me, in your address and speeches, not to forget you ; there is no question of my forgetting you. It is you that I want not to forget me or what I have said.

Thank you very much for your kind reception.

His Excellency's Reply to the Address of Farewell and Felicitations given by the Staff of the Governor's Secretariat and other Establishments in Government House, on the 19th June, 1948.

Mr. Mukharji, friends, sisters and brothers :

I am deeply touched by the reception that you have organised this morning. Your good wishes I take to be like the good wishes of grandchildren to their grandfather. I am not satisfied only to be a father. I want to be your grandfather. As I have experienced the joys and anxieties of a grandfather, I say this to you all. I hope and pray none of you here may ever have anxieties or difficulties and that you will always find your course smooth and happy in life, and whenever you find difficulties or anxieties, I hope your prayers to God will be heard and your troubles will be dissolved.

I am charmed by the beautiful present that you have given as a token of your affection. You have given me a pair of shoes which I hope will protect me from all thorns. I shall always stand firmly on the affection, the token of which you have given me. I do not know who was responsible for this idea but I congratulate you and those who have advised you to present me with this pair of sandals. I value it more than a silver casket or a gold trinket. You have also found what it is that will really be useful and will always be with me. If you had given me anything else, I would have had to find a place to

keep it and to take care for its safety. It will not be necessary for me to find a place where to keep the present you have given me : I will wear it and it will always be with me.

I am very grateful for the very kind words said about me in your beautiful address. I am very sad to part with you. I am as sad as if I had a large family connected by blood with me which I am leaving behind. My consolation is that you will get a substitute after me quite as good as myself, if not better. In this world we must be prepared to lose that which we prize. Unless we know how to lose, we cannot understand how to keep. Any possession which endures for ever and which we can never lose becomes only a burden. Even a precious gold necklace, however, artistic and beautiful will become a painful burden if it becomes irremovable from the neck. So you must be prepared to part with me without sorrow or anxiety or trouble.

Though I go away, please do not forget me. Behave always as if I continued to be here. Whenever you do any wrong, think that I am near you to see it.

I thank you again for your kind reception.

**His Excellency's Farewell Broadcast, on the 19th
June, 1948.**

Sons and daughters of Bengal :

It is a sad thing to part where love united so happily. But are we parting ? Even officially, I shall continue in Bengal which is included in India. Distance cannot put your affection out of my mind. I know I shall not be in intimate contact with you as I have been these ten months. But if I have understood you aright, you will not forget me. I am sure you will think and do always as if I were still very near you. May I never hear anything unpleasant or sad about you. May God continue to look after you. Keep your hearts sweet and pure so that He may dwell therein.

Namaskar.

